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(HENRY GUPPY)

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NOTES AND NEWS.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PLANS FOR EXTENSION.

A MANCHESTER Centre for Learning, Medicine, and the Arts are the proposals for integrating Manchester University's expansion scheme with the city's re-development plan which we reproduce with the consent of the City Surveyor, Mr. R. Nicholas, B.Sc.

It was on the 15th of January that Mr. Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning, came to Manchester to discuss with the University authorities their plans for development and extension. These plans form part of a comprehensive scheme for a cultural, educational, and hospital centre which is described in the City of Manchester Plan, and which also has the approval of the hospital authorities.

The diagram reproduced illustrates a provisional layout for the area which it is proposed to reserve for this purpose. It is bounded by Cambridge Street, Upper Brook Street, the railway crossing Oxford Street, and the projected ring road beyond an enlarged Whitworth Park. Oxford Road would serve it as an internal avenue only, terminating at the University.

The proposed University extensions occupy the central part of the plan, together with a Roman Catholic centre. To the north is a group of municipal institutions for higher education, separated by playing fields from the cultural centre at All Saints'. Beyond this again are sites for a central baths, a new Broadcasting House, and offices masking the railway.

To the south the University group is linked by a new medical school and nursing college with new or vastly extended hospital buildings designed as a regional specialist and teaching centre. On the other side of Oxford Road the space between the

University and the Whitworth Institute is occupied by a physical education centre and halls of residence set in spacious grounds.

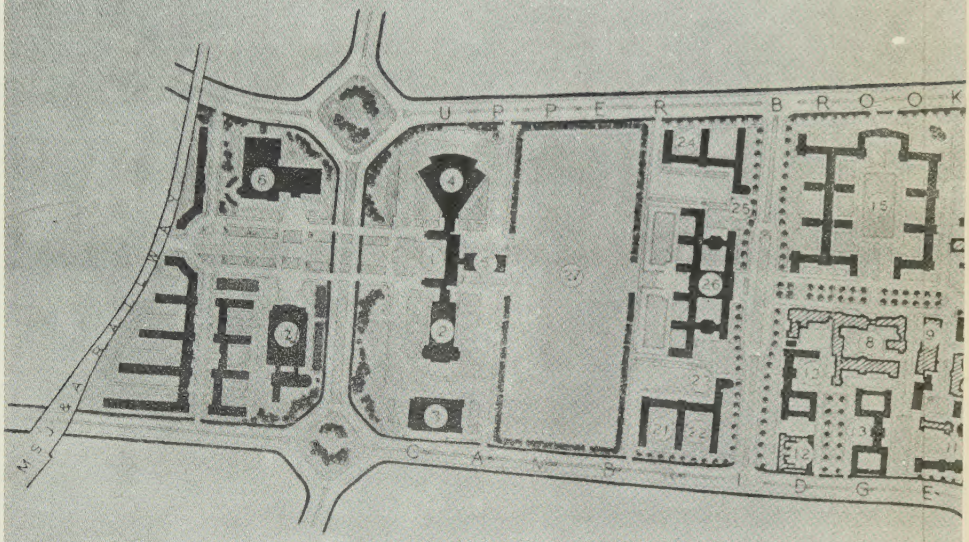
The whole " precinct " is planned on open lines and designed to serve as an extension of the southern " green wedge " into the heart of the city. It is intended that houses and flats suitable for the doctors, artists, and professional people who will be employed in the precinct, or particularly interested in its activities, should be built around squares on the flanking sites.

The Times correspondent refers to the University as standing on many legs nearly a mile from the city's centre, in an area which Mr. Silkin agreed cries out for development and which, under the city plan, is reserved for the replanning of University and other cultural facilities. As now proposed, that replanning commends itself to the Minister as worth pursuing, though naturally he is non-committal as to detail.

At present the University's main buildings are scattered along Oxford Road, one of the city's main outlets southwards. The city plan would close this road to through traffic and carry the traffic on either side of the University area. The mile-long road into the city would be developed in such a way as to lead with dignity to a University which is now architecturally remote from a city that is increasingly taking University graduates into its industry. The number of firms in the Greater Manchester area now employing graduates is about one-third more than in 1939, and the proportion of graduates to be employed is put at 80 per cent.

Before the first world war the University had about 1,000 students. The figure rose to a fairly steady level of 2,400 in the nineteen-thirties. It is ten years since the University planned to extend to what it thought should be its maximum of 3,000 students; but the Barlow Report and present experience of demand from ex-service men and high-grade school leavers have already taken that figure to over 4,000 and well on the way to a new maximum of 5,000. The building plan has been accordingly revised and now embraces four major blocks of buildings. The arts and social sciences would remain where they are; the science departments would be grouped in a new

PROJECT FOR CENTRES OF CULTU



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7 BROADCASTING HOUSE	18 HALLS of RESIDENCE	29 M.R.I. EXTENSIO
8 UNIVERSITY MAIN BLOCK	19 PHYSICAL EDUCATION CENTRE	30 ROYAL EYE HO
9 " UNION etc	20 WHITWORTH PARK EXTENSION	31 St. MARY'S HO
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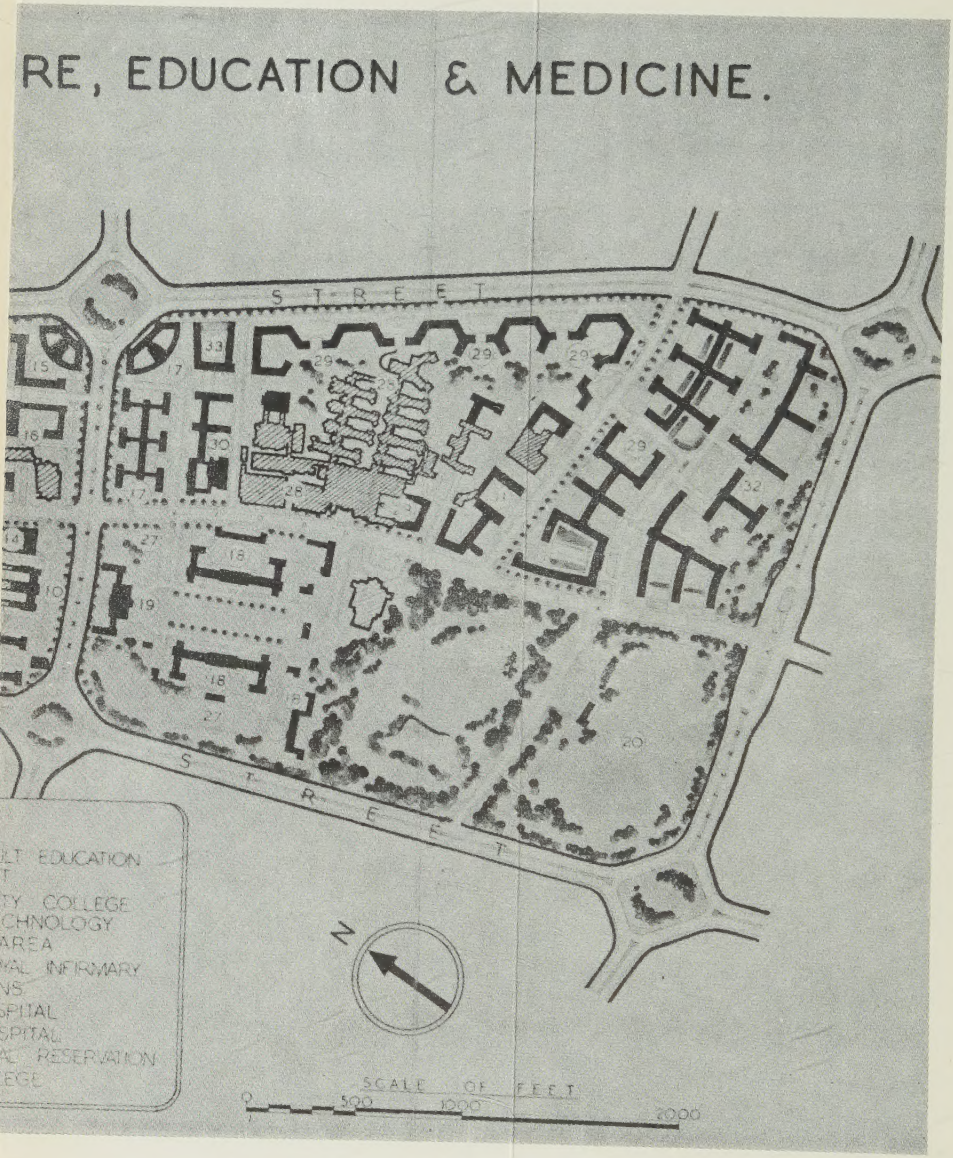
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block; there would be a new medical school; and new halls of residence would house at least 1,500 students.

The cost is estimated at £5,000,000 over the first five-year period and at £10,000,000 over all.

THE CULTURAL CENTRE.

The writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, on the same occasion, writes with approval of the proposal to create a cultural centre in Manchester, and we venture to reprint the column verbatim.

"The months that have elapsed since the City of Manchester Plan was published have definitely improved the prospect of realising its most ambitious feature, the regional centre for learning, medicine, and the arts. To-day the Minister of Town and Country Planning is to discuss with the University authorities a ten-year programme for expansion which they have drawn up within the framework of this plan. Meanwhile the hospital authorities also have welcomed the idea of a 'hospital city' linked with the enlarged University. The administrative difficulties have been removed by the National Health Service Act. Indeed, the first regulation to be framed under that Act designates Manchester as the seat of a regional hospital board and thereby makes necessary the development of its medical teaching centre on a scale for which the combined University and hospital proposals provide ideal conditions. The question remains whether Manchester, being virtually assured of possessing the finest medical centre in the country merged with the largest and best equipped of provincial universities, will be content to leave them isolated in a wilderness of obsolete and half-derelict houses, shops, and factories, or whether they are to be directly linked with the civic centre by the completion of the scheme outlined in the city plan. The latter course entails the reservation of the land between the expanded University and Oxford Street (most of which will soon be ripe for redevelopment) as sites for municipal buildings devoted in the main to educational and cultural purposes, and including a civic theatre, a large assembly hall, and a fitting home for the Hallé Orchestra. The new Planning Bill makes all this possible at a cost which the city could well afford, but only a forward-looking council, backed by public opinion, can bring it about."

When the representatives of the University and the Municipal representatives met the Minister of Town and Country Planning, in the course of their meeting they told Mr. Silkin of their plans to acquire more land for expansion, and he declared: "There is no reason why building should not commence within three years, subject to agreement with the Minister of Works.

"It will mean acquisition of certain land, and if this is not acquired by agreement, then it must be compulsorily acquired by the city. If there were objections there would have to be a public inquiry.

"It should have facilities, both social and academic, as good as any other University in the world. I am in complete sympathy with what is being attempted here. I believe that ultimately every University student should be residential, as in the older universities.

"The University plans to accommodate 5,000 students—twice the pre-war number.

"Such a city as Manchester should have a University which is of the first rank," said Mr. Silkin.

"It will be necessary to proceed by stages. Some property is still occupied, and for some time to come it won't be possible to demolish existing residential property. It might be possible, however, to put up buildings which will fit in with the final plan."

Later in the day Mr. Silkin, in company with the Town Clerk (Mr. P. W. Dingle), paid a visit to the Wythenshaw Estate.

BIGGER GRANTS TO UNIVERSITIES.

The following paragraphs, which deal with the report from the University Grants Committee on the Five-Year System, have been borrowed from the *Manchester Guardian* in the interest of our over-seas readers.

Mr. Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a written reply to Sir Ernest Graham-Little (Ind.—London University), says he has considered a report from the University Grants Committee. Before the war Exchequer grants to universities were settled for periods of five years, and the Chancellor says he proposes to resume this practice so that universities may plan development with knowledge of the resources they may expect.

"As their needs will be on a rising scale," he says, "I propose that Parliament should be asked to provide recurrent grants rising from £9,000,000 for the academic year 1947-48 to £9,970,000 for 1948-49 and by annual increments of £650,000 to £11,920,000 for 1951-52. The current grants for the present academic year will amount to between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000.

"These figures exclude the grants of £500,000 now made to teaching hospitals, which will continue during the financial year 1947-48, and the amount of which for future years has not yet been determined. They also exclude grants for agricultural education, responsibility for which will pass to the University Grants Committee after the current year.

"The committee estimates that the universities' programmes of development will necessitate during the quinquennium non-recurrent grants amounting to £50,000,000, of which £40,000,000 would be for new buildings and £10,000,000 for acquiring sites, existing buildings, and new equipment. I accept this estimate and will do my best to meet it. I am advised, however, by the Minister of Works, that even after allowing for a high degree of priority universities will not be able to undertake more than £20,000,000 worth of new building during the quinquennium.

"The sum which Parliament will be asked to vote for the financial year 1947-48 is £11,875,000, which includes the grants to the teaching hospitals, provision for agricultural education after the present academic year, and £3,500,000 for capital grants."

HALLS OF RESIDENCE FOR STUDENTS.

Lord Woolton, Chancellor of Manchester University, speaking at the degree-day ceremony on the 19th December, 1946, appealed to the industries of Lancashire to consider building for the University halls of residence in memory of the scientists and inventors whose work in the past had been the foundation of the country's industrial progress and prosperity. The cotton industry, he suggested, might build a hall bearing the name of Arkwright.

Notwithstanding difficulties caused by the war, he said, the quality and progress of the students in all the faculties of the University had during the past term been most gratifying to the

teaching body. The student activities and the general social life of the University were healthy and vigorous, and the present body of students, many of whom had had their education and the training for their professional careers seriously interrupted by war, were showing their desire to make up for lost time by taking the fullest advantage of the opportunities that the University offered them.

"We have never had better men and women," added Lord Woolton, "than those who have already served their country in the forces of the Crown. I wish that we could offer them more of the advantages of full university life. Attendance at lectures, the use of laboratories and libraries, are only a part of university life. Living together is almost as important as studying together, and before this University can give to its students the advantages which they deserve and we desire we shall have to be in a position to offer to every one of them the chance of at least one year of living in a hall of residence.

"Lancashire generally, and Manchester in particular, owe much of their prosperity to the commercial application of the inventive and engineering minds of men who have devoted their lives to research. I think of the inventions of Kelvin in the field of electricity, of the work of Perkin in this University on research into aniline dyes. I think of the inventive genius of Crompton and Arkwright on which the staple industry of this country is based.

"Now no worthy memorial of the indebtedness of Lancashire commerce has been built to these men, though our debt to them is great. With these thoughts in my mind I make an appeal to the industrialists of Lancashire. I ask the cotton trade seriously to consider building for us at the University a hall of residence for the use of the students and in grateful memory of the work of Arkwright, whose name it might bear. I ask the other federated industries in this country similarly to identify and glorify the men whose inventions have been the basis of their present prosperity. I pray that they will hearken to this appeal and enable us to give to the young men and women whose proved ability has enabled them to enter this University the best facilities that any university can offer."

Civil Estimates, issued yesterday (March 10), give the following list of grants to English and Welsh universities for 1947-48 :— INCREASED GRANTS.

	1947-48	1946-47
	£	£
Birmingham	287,750	237,625
Bristol	192,620	166,685
Cambridge	370,000	319,250
Durham	221,750	199,550
Exeter Univ. Coll.	61,300	60,900
Hull Univ. Coll.	49,100	39,550
Leeds	205,500	176,000
Leicester Univ. Coll.	30,350	21,175
Liverpool	220,750	199,373
London (including its colleges and schools)	2,115,000	1,813,625
Manchester	339,350	266,525
Manchester Coll. of Tech.	25,000	23,000
Nottingham Univ. Coll.	63,000	58,000
Oxford	396,500	319,250
Reading	67,000	63,250
Sheffield	159,970	135,735
Southampton Univ. Coll.	62,850	50,175
Total	4,867,790	4,139,670
University of Wales (including Aberystwyth, Bangor, Cardiff, and Swansea Colleges and the Welsh National School of Medicine)	368,200	331,600

The Nuffield Foundation, to encourage highly qualified doctors to train as specialists in rheumatism, is offering a small number of fellowships at the Manchester Research Centre, for the development of which the foundation last October granted £100,000 to the University. NUFFIELD RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS.

Two main fields are covered in the scheme—the clinical, sociological, and industrial aspects of the disease, and its fundamental study by pathological, bacteriological, and bio-chemical methods. It is hoped that the fellowships will attract able research workers who, for two or three years, will now be able to devote themselves entirely to the subject. They are similar to the research fellowships already granted for child health and industrial health, and the trustees are free to award them as they find the proper candidates.

It is with sincere regret that we learn of the impending retirement of the Right Reverend Dr. Guy Warman from the See of Manchester, on the grounds of ill-health.

DR. GUY WARMAN, BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

It is just over eighteen years since Dr. Warman succeeded Dr. Temple, upon his elevation to the Archbishopric of York in 1929. The Bishop is at present staying on the South Coast upon the advice of his medical adviser, who has warned him that he ought not to spend another winter in Manchester.

Dr. Warman, who is 74 years of age, was born in Highbury and educated at Merchant Taylors' School, where he won a Classical Scholarship to Pembroke College, Oxford. His first appointment was as assistant curate to Leyton, where he stayed for four years before taking a similar position in Hastings for two years. In 1901 he went from there to be Vice-Principal of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, and a year later he was appointed Vicar of Birkenhead. After six years he returned to St. Aidan's as Principal, and in 1919 he was consecrated Bishop of Truro. After four years at Truro he was transferred to Chelmsford.

A broad-minded churchman, Dr. Warman has always striven for the unity of the churches.

Preaching a few years ago at a Methodist mission in Manchester, he said he had confirmed a nurse at a military hospital, who had been presented for confirmation by a Methodist padre. "I do not suppose," said the Bishop, "that the padre will be thrown out of the Methodist Union for heresy, and I am sure I shall not be thrown out of the Church of England."

Dr. Warman is a distinguished theologian and classical scholar, a member of the Archbishop's Committee on Church and State, and the Prayer Book Revision Committee.

He is also a member of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, where he will be greatly missed, not only by his colleagues, but also by the members of the staff of the Library by whom he was held in most affectionate esteem.

From the year of its foundation the library has been favoured by a succession of Bishops on its governing body, commencing with Bishop Moorhouse, who was succeeded in turn by Bishop

Welldon, Bishop Knox and Bishop William Temple, who retired upon his translation to the Archbishopric of York, to be succeeded by Bishop Warman.

Manchester will say good-bye to its Bishop with genuine and affectionate regret. Dr. Warman came here to find a difficult administrative task before him. The diocese of Manchester had but recently taken its present size and style; the new diocese of Blackburn had taken the bulk of its space but the lesser part of its people, and the incoming bishop's first task was to reorganise and adapt the diocesan organisation, planned for an extended and partly rural area, to suit a field far more compact and wholly urban. He carried out the task so well that Manchester is now considered one of the best-administered dioceses in the country.

Never has Manchester had a bishop who entered more closely into the corporate life of the University and the City.

A MARK OF GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION.

May we take this opportunity of reminding our readers of the proposal to organise an expression of grateful recognition of the valuable work for which the retiring Lord Bishop of Manchester has been responsible during the eighteen years of his residence in our midst, and in the sacrifice of health that his devotion to his charge has unfortunately entailed?

Dr. Warman has been a worker and has thrown himself heart and soul into whatever he felt would contribute to the common good, and he has done it with a thoroughness and judgment, as well as with loyalty to Christian principles which have combined to make him one of the best loved public men in South Lancashire.

It has been decided to invite contributions to a presentation for those who wish to honour his Lordship, not only within the Church of England, but in recognition of the valuable work he has done outside his own Church.

Contributions, which should not exceed half-a-guinea, may be sent to the Lord Mayor, Town Hall, Manchester 2.

This appeal has been made under the auspices of the Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire; the Lord Mayor of Manchester;

the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester; the President of the Manchester and Salford District Free Church Federal Council; and the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.

HENRY BUCKLEY CHARLTON.

It is with extreme pleasure we are able to announce that among the recipients of honorary degrees to be conferred during May by the University of Leeds will be Henry Buckley Charlton, Master of Arts, and sometime Fellow of the University of Leeds, Pro-Vice-Chancellor and Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester, and Trustee and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, in the development of which he has ministered in a multitude of ways.

The University authorities have invited General Eisenhower, Admiral Lord Mountbatten, and Admiral Lord Cunningham, upon whom degrees were conferred *in absentia* in October, to be present at the May conferment, and it is understood that there is a reasonable prospect of their being present.

On the 14th of last December the doctorate of the University of Dijon was conferred upon Professor Charlton and it was made the occasion of a great and well-deserved reception at the ceremony of induction.

THE RHODES TRUST.

Lord Elton, Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, speaking in London at a meeting of the Dominions and Colonies section of the Royal Society of Arts on the 17th of December, announced that he had received for the first time two nominations from India for Rhodes Scholarships, and that the Trustees would meet shortly to consider the nominations.

The Trustees, said Lord Elton, were now faced with the need of increasing the stipend of scholars from £400 to £500 a year. He did not know whether this would be permanent, but after the 1914-18 war the stipend had been increased from £300 to £400.

Lord Elton said that the Rhodes Trust in its forty-odd years of life had done more than any other one foundation to promote

the ideals of Cecil Rhodes—the coalition and prosperity of the Empire and a close friendship with America. Surely there was hope for the world in the creation of bodies of men from various countries whose experience might help to set them free from the imprisoning prejudices of the masses. At Versailles and other peace-making gatherings the representatives of the different countries tended to find themselves imprisoned by the prejudices in their home countries.

Speaking of the careers of former Rhodes Scholars and the way in which they had lived up to the ideals of Rhodes that they should make public service their special aim, Lord Elton said that Rhodes would not have been displeased at the fact that the largest single category was formed by those who had taken up education. Between 600 and 650 out of 2,196 Rhodes Scholars up to 1940 had entered some part of the educational field. In the legal profession there were nineteen judges and twenty K.C.s and some of the most distinguished lawyers in the United States. The two best brain specialists to-day and Sir Howard Florey, co-discoverer of penicillin, were among 150 in the medical profession. There were four Fellows of the Royal Society.

Of nineteen German Rhodes Scholars who came into residence at Oxford after the revision of scholarships in 1929, eight managed to get out of Germany and served against that country during the war. Some even won decorations for bravery while with the United States forces. Of the remaining eleven at least four were known to have conspired against the Nazi régime, and at least three were known to have been executed by the Nazis.

Rhodes Scholars had won, up to 1940, 521 Blues, and the statistical evidence pointed to a very satisfactory and increasingly satisfactory standard on purely academic grounds.

Besides providing the scholarships the Rhodes Trust did other valuable work. It made grants for educational interests and also to help imperial history and affairs.

Lord Bennett presided at the meeting, and Sir Harry Lindsay, Director of the Imperial Institute, proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Elton.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Edinburgh University has now joined the small group of Universities in the United Kingdom who own and control their own printing presses.

It was on the 13th of December last that Sir John Fraser, Principal of the University, received from the Trustees of the late Mr. Edward Clark the title deeds of R. and R. Clark Limited, printers, whose large premises are in Brandon Street, Edinburgh.

Under the terms of the will of Mr. Edward Clark, who died in 1926, the trustees were granted full discretion in deciding the firm's future, and it was in the knowledge that Mr. Clark had been a generous benefactor of the University and other educational institutions that they decided to make over the firm " lock, stock, and barrel " to the University.

The benefaction means for the University an assured considerable annual income, for the firm will continue to function as before. The firm was founded in 1846 by the son of a Montrose solicitor. Robert Louis Stevenson and Sir Walter Scott were among the earlier authors whose work formed a large portion of the output of Clark's, and among modern writers there are George Bernard Shaw, Eric Linklater, Sean O'Casey, Compton Mackenzie, and Sir John Squire.

" Who's Who " and many other reference books have been printed there for the past fifty years.

MR. THOMAS LAMONT'S GIFT TO THE CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL RESTORATION FUND.

One of the most heartening tributes to Britain's courage in the dark days of 1940 and 1941 has been paid by Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, the New York banker, who has made a gift of half a million dollars (£124,069) to the Canterbury Cathedral Restoration Fund.

In a message to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Geoffrey Francis Fisher) on the 4th of February, Mr. Lamont said: " I have this day placed at your disposal with the British Embassy, Washington, the sum of $500,000. Entirely unsolicited, this gift is for the fund for restoration of Canterbury Cathedral, made necessary by the deadly destruction wrought by German bombing in the late war. It is an evidence of the goodwill that countless Americans bear towards the British people.

"We Americans, of all others, can never forget that in the darkest days of 1940 and 1941, it was only British courage and the blind faith of free men, undismayed by disaster, that saved the world from the evil of the Teutonic onslaught.

"Canterbury is the heritage of the whole Christian world. It was centuries ago that your workmen painstakingly erected this monument of beauty and worship, and always since that time it has been cherished by the English-speaking race. It is you with whom we share our fundamental religious convictions, brought to the new world with our forebears at Jamestown and Massachusetts Bay. We have followed the way as they followed it. We have looked forward, as they looked, to a city not built with hands.

"I hope that at this moment, when British reconstruction difficulties are so great, an attempt to share in the restoration of Canterbury Cathedral will not be unwelcome to you."

Dr. Fisher has sent the following reply: "Your letter speaks of the common religious tradition that our two peoples share. Of that tradition in this country Canterbury Cathedral, in all its majestic loveliness, is the mother church. To that tradition you have added all the richness of your own heritage. The fellowship of our two countries has its roots in the common Christian inheritance and its expression in the upholding of Christian respect for the freedom, the dignity and the brotherhood of men.

"Your gift springs from such profound sentiments, and must evoke them anew in us who are the present guardians of Canterbury Cathedral. It is with something more than gratitude that I acknowledge it, though my gratitude is indeed unbounded. This gift does honour to you, sir, and does honour also to those spiritual realities in which the true life of our nations and of the fellowship between them consists."

Mr. Lamont, partner with the banking firm of J. P. Morgan and Co. since 1911, was a financial reporter on the *New York Herald Tribune* and the first man outside the Morgan family to become chairman.

A cablegram was sent by the Editor of the *Daily Mail* on behalf of its 2,000,000 readers throughout Britain, thanking Mr. Lamont

for his magnificent gift ; above all for his fine tribute to the courage of the ordinary citizens of Britain in the time of our hard ordeal.

"Every man and woman here who remembers what your great country did to help us in our battle in desperate days appreciates this new generous gesture."

LAURENCE BINYON HONOURED.

A prize in honour of Laurence Binyon, honorary fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and a Lancashire man, was established in the Congregation of Oxford on the 4th of February. Its nucleus was a gift of £650 to the University from a number of Laurence Binyon's friends. The University also acknowledged gifts of £100 from the Chinese Goodwill Mission to Britain, Mrs. Florence Lamont, Mrs. Macmillan and Mrs. Laurence Binyon, and £50 from Trinity College. A decree established the prize, which will send Oxford men and women abroad to increase their appreciation of the visual arts.

ELLEN WILKINSON.

Through the death of Miss Ellen Wilkinson, which took place suddenly on Thursday, the 6th of February, England has lost a great educational leader.

As the Prime Minister pointed out in the House of Commons, she owed her position as Minister of Education to her qualities. Coming from a working-class home she won a Scholarship to Secondary School and University. She had great courage and a burning sympathy for all those who suffered, which extended far beyond the bounds of this country.

In the Ministry of Education she found work very dear to her heart. She saw here the opportunity of giving to others the educational chance she managed to secure by her own efforts. The difficulties of bringing into force the Education Act under the conditions obtaining after the war were very formidable and she set herself to overcome them.

Mr. Winston Churchill associated himself with the tribute, for she served with him for more than five years in his Administration, and he offered testimony to the earnest zeal and sympathy with which she did her work. In the grim winter of 1940-41, constantly under the fire of the enemy, she was always pursuing her task and duty and giving the greatest possible aid to the measures it was necessary to undertake in those days.

Active, courageous, and accessible, she had many traits which Ministers of every Government, and every party, have been taught to aim at, and was vital and fearless in giving expression to them. She also had a great pride in our country, and this was very noticeable in several of her speeches and actions, not only during the time of crisis of the war, but later. She always wished to see this island great and famous and capable of offering a decent home to all its people.

In 1940 when the Labour Government joined the National Government, under Mr. Churchill, she was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions, and a few years later was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Home Office and Ministry of Home Service.

The position imposed a heavy strain on her because she insisted upon seeing for herself what was happening in London, and could be found nightly visiting shelters during the raids, where she met with a series of accidents which weakened her.

But, with undiminished ardour, she accepted the position of Minister of Education in the Labour Government, becoming thereby the second woman to hold Cabinet rank, Miss Margaret Bondfield being the first.

"So far as it is in my power," she said, when receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of Manchester University last year, "I intend secondary education shall be secondary and not elementary with frills on."

As a scholar at Ardwick Central School she was taught by a young student teacher named Frederick Marquis, now Lord Woolton. She took her M.A. degree in History and Economics, and it was Lord Woolton, with whom she served in Mr. Churchill's Government, who, as Chancellor of the University, admitted her to her doctorate.

By the death of Mr. Garvin, at the age of 79 years, which took place at his home at Beaconsfield, the nation has lost a man, says *The Times*, who by the power of his pen, the dimensions of his learning, and the force of his personality had earned an outstanding position in its life.

JAMES LOUIS GARVIN.

We learn from the *Manchester Guardian* that Garvin wrote his last article in the *Daily Telegraph* on the 17th of January, in which his final words had the characteristic ring: "American machinery may save us in the future. Only the fibre of the individual British man can save us now."

It was in 1942 that his long editorship of the *Observer* came to an end.

In the days of the great editors Garvin had a direct influence on statesmen and Governments. He had a hand in the formation of the Coalition Government in the war of 1914-18. Mr. Churchill was a close friend and so was F. E. Smith. But his great hero was Joseph Chamberlain, and for years Garvin was engaged on a monumental biography. Three volumes have been published, carrying the life to 1900, but it is believed that Garvin died without having written the final volume.

By his own profession Garvin was acknowledged one of its leaders, and by readers everywhere as a political writer and biographer of the first rank. His knowledge of English and European literatures, retained by a perfect memory, ranged widely and deeply, and competent students of his excursions into this field have held that Garvin sacrificed to politics a high place as a critic.

Journalism and criticism did not exhaust the capacity of Garvin's rich and varied mind. While still responsible for the *Observer*, he edited the fourteenth edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," and when that enormous task was finished turned to the "Life of Joseph Chamberlain." He made it the record not only of a statesman but of an epoch.

Garvin was born in 1868 of Irish stock though not in Ireland. To this origin may be traced the deeper passions as well as the effervescence of his spirit. The youth whose Celtic fervour was to inspire him to a man's service in defence of Parnell was already committed to a life-long warfare for his heroes.

Garvin's first published writing was a story in the *Boy's Own Paper*, for which as a boy he won a prize. At 17 he addressed a letter to the *Eastern Morning News* of Hull, then edited by J. A. Spender. To his amazement it appeared as a special article under his own name in large letters. Other contributions to the same journal followed.

At 23 Garvin removed to Newcastle and secured employment on the *Newcastle Chronicle* as proof reader, and almost immediately became a writer. His description of the funeral of Parnell in 1891 brought fame which reached as far as London.

Appearance on a greater stage soon followed. He sent a manuscript to the *Fortnightly Review* with a covering letter to the effect that, presumptuous as it was for a young provincial to approach a great London monthly, his article, if accepted, must be used at once and printed first. The conditions were fulfilled and for many years onwards from 1900 he wrote articles on foreign affairs, under various pseudonyms. Garvin was later offered and accepted the position of leader writer on the *Daily Telegraph*. He left the *Daily Telegraph* to edit the *Outlook*. In 1905 Lord Northcliffe, having acquired the oldest and most famous of Sunday papers, the *Observer*, which did not pay, consulted Garvin. "Give the public what they do not want, in other words better reading than they had realised they wanted." Northcliffe grasped the point and Garvin became editor. In 1942 Garvin's long connection with the *Observer* came to an end and he returned to the *Sunday Express*. A year later he returned to the *Daily Telegraph* which gave him the opportunity of a weekly survey of affairs.

His knowledge of the history of journalism was unequalled, as is witnessed in the "History of The Times," but it is chiefly as the greatest of British columnists that he is known.

To Garvin the supreme duty of an editor is to explore, for the benefit of his readers, every great issue of the moment to its depths. Sometimes he was wrong. His insistence in the middle 1930's upon Great Britain's need for air power is greatly to his credit.

His "Life of Joseph Chamberlain" was an achievement equalled perhaps only by Morley's "Life of Gladstone." His "Economic Foundations of Empire," published in 1914, was the fruit of much thought.

His later years were passed at Gregories in Beaconsfield, once the farmhouse of Edmund Burke. His great library was housed in an ancient barn near by. The Universities of Edinburgh and Durham conferred on him honorary doctorates, and in 1941 he was created a Companion of Honour.

THE RYLANDS CHARTER ROOM.

In the present issue appears an article surveying the contents and growth of the Library's Charter Room, the nucleus of which was formed almost forty years ago by the purchase of a small group of Compotus Rolls. From this small beginning the collection has steadily increased in numbers and broadened in scope until it has reached its present total of some thirty thousand items, among which are materials relating to almost every county in England, valuable series of French and Scottish charters, a considerable quantity of evidences relating to North Wales, and records and business papers from the archives of the Medici family, the whole dating from the eleventh to the twentieth century. The Charter Room contains both documents in the possession of the Library, whether acquired by gift or purchase, and documents deposited on permanent or indefinite loan, for since 1921 many collections of the latter type have been entrusted to our care, and in 1924, under the Law of Property (Amendment) Act, the Library was appointed an official depository for manorial and other records by the Master of the Rolls. Among such collections described below are the muniments of a number of old Cheshire county families (the Mainwarings, the Jodrells and the Tattons), much Lancashire material (the Clowes Deeds, the Pyke House Deeds, the Clitheroe Court Rolls), the valuable Lancashire and Scottish muniments, formerly preserved at Haigh Hall, of the Earl of Crawford, the Lady Crutchley MSS. (Derbyshire, Lancashire and Suffolk), the Hatton Wood MSS., and two groups deposited by the British Records Association and the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society. These collections are made available to students in two series of Hand-Lists issued by the Library, a bibliography of which is appended to the article. Another feature of the Charter Room to which reference is made in the course of the survey is that of seals, of which there is a collection valuable not merely to the local historian but also to the student of sigillography in general. In another contribution to the present issue attention is drawn to certain selected seals from the Hatton Wood MSS., a number of which appear to be either unique or of great rarity. They include the seals of Simon, Bishop of

Chichester (1204/1207), John Chaundler, Dean of Salisbury (1418), Walter Burstoke, Abbot of Ford, co. Devon (1396), Wymondley Priory, co. Hertford (early 13th cent.), Elias, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England (*temp.* Edward I), the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, Eastbridge, Canterbury (early 13th cent.), the Fraternity of Kalendars of Bristol (1361) and the earlier (1384) and later (1460) seal of St. Peter's Church, Bristol.

"THEOLOGICAL STUDIES."

"Theological Studies," founded in 1940, is a quarterly review of the sacred sciences, published by the theological Faculties of the Society of Jesus in the United States, with the collaboration of other scholars. In a section entitled Current Theology, various bulletins have been presented, covering dogma, canon law, and moral theology, current theological controversies, etc. It is planned to extend this service by publishing annual bulletins in other fields, notably Ancient Christian Literature, the History of Religions, Archæology, Current Protestant Theology.

The Editor of the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY has entered into exchange relations with the Editor of "Theological Studies."

THE ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP.

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship was established by the American Historical Association in December, 1945, to promote good historical writing by aiding competent scholars.

The Fellowship is awarded annually for the best original manuscript in English, either completed or in progress, on American history. By "American history" is meant the history of the United States, Latin America, and Canada, from the sixteenth century to the present. The Fellowship is administered by the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.

Each Fellowship has a cash value of $1,000; the manuscript will be published on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, and the author will also receive a 5 per cent. royalty of the retail price of the book after editorial and manufacturing costs

have been met. There is no requirement that a Fellow shall obtain leave of absence from his normal occupation during his tenure of the Fellowship.

In the discretion of the Committee other meritorious manuscripts submitted in the competition may also be published on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.

Manuscripts may range from 50,000 to 125,000 words in length and must be of a scholarly character. Literary merit will be an important factor in determining the award. Biographies, monographs, and works of synthesis and interpretation are eligible; translations, anthologies, and collections of documents are not.

As small a part as one half of the manuscript may be submitted at the time of application, but it must be accompanied by a detailed outline of the balance; and no doctoral thesis will be eligible unless it is complete and has been accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree.

If a complete manuscript is not submitted, the manuscript shall be completed by a date to be agreed upon between the Committee and the author; in no case shall this be more than two years after the date of the award.

In order to be considered for the 1947 award, manuscripts must be submitted not later than 1st July, 1947. Manuscripts received after 1st July, 1947, may be considered for the 1948 award.

All MSS. and all correspondence relating to the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship should be addressed to: Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund of the American Historical Association, 208 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

"FRENCH STUDIES."

We extend a welcome to the new quarterly review entitled "French Studies," the purpose of which is to extend and deepen the knowledge and appreciation of French culture, in the first place among English-speaking peoples.

It will be concerned chiefly with literature and language as the two manifestations of the French genius which have the

widest appeal, but other aspects will receive attention from time to time.

It is intended that the " Review " shall on the one hand serve as an organ for the furtherance of scholarly work in the field of French studies by publishing the results of research, and on the other help to keep all those interested in France and her culture informed of the latest contributions in the literary and linguistic fields. In pursuing this aim the Editors will keep in mind the requirements, not only of scholars and teachers, but of a wider public.

It is proposed that each number shall contain : (1) a substantial article presenting a re-assessment, in the light of latest contributions, of one or other of the major French authors or of some important movement or development ; (2) one or more articles embodying the results of research of a more specialised nature ; (3) miscellaneous notes ; (4) reviews and short notices. The language used will be either English or French.

The first issue (January, 1947) includes an " Inédit de Flaubert," edited with permission of the Governors by Eugène Vinaver, from the manuscript in the John Rylands Library.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBRARY OF CAPE TOWN.

We have before us the first issue (September, 1946) of the *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, and we take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Varley, the Librarian, upon his enlightened enterprise in launching this medium of approach between the officials of the library and their clientèle, for in this way he will stimulate interest in the library and in its development as is possible in no other way.

With such interesting collections of " Incunabula " there is all the material for building up the history of the birth of printing in South Africa, followed by the history of the South African Union. In my opinion there is nothing that will stimulate the interest of the readers in their country so much as the collection of material, manuscript and printed, to be found upon the library shelves. This may be accomplished by the exhibition and reproduction of such items as the " London Missionary Letter of 1799."

The intention expressed in the opening paragraphs of "Notes and News" is a very certain method of awakening and quickening interest in the library and its work.

Take readers into your confidence and encourage them to help you in building up your collections by describing what you have and also what you lack, and by so doing encourage your clientèle to take an active interest in the work of building up your collections. Encourage them to take a personal and active interest in the work of the library and in the building up of its collections.

In this way many great collections of historic material have been built up from seed sown by the wayside.

It is more than likely that in the possession of some of your readers are many historical and literary treasures awaiting discovery through the medium of a paragraph in "Notes and News."

Encourage your readers to co-operate with you in this way to build up a South African Library of literary and historical material.

It may be that a discarded pamphlet or tract, if brought to the notice of the librarian, may unexpectedly prove to be of priceless value for the history of the Dominion of South Africa.

We wish our South African and Cape friends success in their venture. There are boundless opportunities in the pages of the *Bulletin* for building up the history of your corner of our great Empire.

VICTORIAN NOVELISTS.

A loan exhibition of original editions of Victorian fiction was opened in the rooms of the National Book League, 7 Albemarle Street, London, on the 21st of January, by the Duke of Wellington, which contains many books from the remarkable specialised collection of Mr. Michael Sadleir.

The writer of a leader in *The Times* of the following day refers to the exhibition as having been arranged by Mr. John Carter, and we venture to reprint those intensely interesting paragraphs upon "The Victorian Novelists" with grateful appreciation:

'A good book even in a glass case has the power to set the

mind roving, and the rich exhibition of Victorian novels which Mr. John Carter has arranged for the National Book League is suggestive of many things and, first of all, of the amazing mental fecundity of the great Queen's reign. "Victorian fiction"—the phrase could easily be spoken so as to have something patronising, almost derogatory, about it. Yet in how large a measure does the general corpus of the best English story-telling consist of novels published in the time of Victoria. From "Pickwick," "Vanity Fair," "Barchester Towers," and "The Woman in White" to "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," "The Prisoner of Zenda," "Sherlock Holmes," and "Treasure Island," an astonishingly rich world of the mind was created by the novelists of those sixty years, a world which, though imaginary, forms a real part of the consciousness, the living-space, of every literate English man and woman to-day, almost half a century after the Queen's death.

'The abiding hold of the Victorian novel is not entirely one of literary merit. It would scarcely be possible to maintain, for example, that "The Moonstone" is a better book than "Tom Jones"; but undoubtedly it has a larger audience to-day, and even the well-read man finds it easier to read. A far greater change of prose style (to say nothing of ways of life) took place between the eighteenth century and the nineteenth than has happened since. The characters of Trollope may seem old-fashioned now, but they are a hundred times more real to us than those of Smollett, and Trollope's style is almost contemporary. Of the eighteenth-century novelists probably only Goldsmith, and perhaps Defoe, can now be read without a greater exercise of the historical imagination, a greater power of transposing oneself into the mind of another century, than the average reader can muster.

'It is not strange, therefore, that the Victorian novelists should hold the field against the Georgians. What is perhaps curious is the vigour with which they hold their own against their successors, so that the characters of Dickens and Thackeray are even now more familiar to the man in the street than all but a few of those of Bennett, Wells, or Galsworthy. Perhaps the reason may be that the twentieth-century novelists, coming

immediately after a vast, almost spontaneous, ebullition of the story-telling art, were too conscious of their forerunners, too anxious to invent new ways of expression, to achieve just that unquestioning self-confidence which enables an artist to capture and hold the largest public. And not of readers only. The Victorian novelists are conquering the new methods of artistic expression as well. "Great Expectations" is as much enjoyed on the screen as "Orley Farm" in its broadcast instalments. Indeed here the wheel has carried the Victorians round full circle. Many of their best tales appeared first in the fortnightly parts which Sam Weller popularised in the Queen's first year on the throne.'

STRASBOURG AND MANCHESTER

We congratulate the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Strasbourg upon the volume of Philosophical Studies for 1945, which, in spite of the war, has produced this evidence that the University, although at one time apparently struck down to death, remains full of life and more ardent than ever in the pursuit of her work.

We have pleasure in forging still another link of collaboration between Manchester and Strasbourg, which takes the form, in the present issue, of an article by M. Paul Renucci, Chargé de Cours de Langue et Littérature Italiennes à la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg, entitled "Deux étapes de l'utopisme humaniste : le Château du Décaméron et l'Abbaye de Thélème," which is still another gesture of the friendly collaboration which has been established between the two Universities of Manchester and Strasbourg. Apart from its intrinsic interest its publication in these pages is another manifestation of the newly established association between the two Universities.

RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following is a list of the public afternoon lectures (the forty-fifth series) which were arranged for delivery in the lecture-hall of the Library during the current session, 1946-47, at 3 p.m. in the afternoon :—

Wednesday, 9th October, 1946. "King Lear." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th November, 1946. "A Traveller in the Fourth Century, A.D., from Unpublished Greek Papyri in the Rylands Collection." By Colin H. Roberts, M.A., Editor of the Rylands "Catalogue of Greek Papyri," Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

Wednesday, 11th December, 1946. "Menander: Plays of Social Criticism." By T. B. L. Webster, M.A., F.S.A., Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th January, 1947. "The Zū-bird in Ancient Mesopotamian Art and Literature." By T. Fish, Ph.D. (Camb.), Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th February, 1947. "The Life of Jesus: a Study of the Available Material. (5) The Gospel According to St. John." By T. W. Manson, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th March, 1947. "Peace, War, and Culture Patterns." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

RECENT RYLANDS PUBLICATIONS.

The following is a list of recent publications, consisting of articles which have appeared in preceding issues of the BULLETIN:—

"Some Ancient Mesopotamian Traditions Concerning Men and Society." By T. Fish, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 18. Price eighteenpence net.

"Le Style de Villehardouin dans les discours de sa chronique." By Jean Frappier, Professor of Mediaeval French Literature in the University of Strasbourg. 8vo, pp. 16. Price one shilling net.

"Personality in its Cultural Context." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc. 8vo, pp. 22. Price eighteenpence net.

"The Period of the Judges; a Mystery Period in the History of Israel." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D. 8vo, pp. 26. Price eighteenpence net.

"The Heraldry of Cheshire." By H. Ellis Tomlinson, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. 8vo, pp. 18. Price eighteenpence net.

"Restorations in Menander." By T. B. L. Webster, M.A., F.S.A. 8vo, pp. 31. Price eighteenpence net.

"Abū'l-Hasan Al-Sūrī's Discourse on the Calendar in the Kitab Al-Tabbākh, Rylands Samaritan Codex IX." By P. R. Weis, M.A., Lic. en Ph. et Hist. Or. 8vo, pp. 15. Price one shilling net.

"The 'Bibliotheca Lindesiana'." 8vo, pp. 12.

"The Work and Aims of the National Register of Archives: Report of a meeting held in the lecture hall of the John Rylands Library on the 22nd of May, 1946." 8vo, pp. 12.

GENERAL ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

ART AND BIBLIOGRAPHY: AUBERT (M.), "Repertoire d'art et d'archéologie." Années 1938-41, 4to; BLUNT (A.), "The French drawings in the collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle," 4to; BRIGGS (M. S.), "Puritan architecture and its future," 8vo; DOBSON (J.), "Anatomical eponyms: a biographical dictionary of those anatomists whose names have been incorporated in anatomical nomenclature," 4to; FELLOWES (E. H.), "Memoirs of an amateur musician," 8vo; HONEY (W. B.), "The art of the potter: a book for the collector and connoisseur," 8vo; "Handbook for the study of glass vessels of all periods and countries," 8vo; JOHNSON (J.) and STRICKLAND (G.), "Print and privilege at Oxford to 1700," 4to; MCKERROW (R.), "An introduction to bibliography for literary students," 8vo; MELLERS (W.), "Music and society: England and the European tradition," 8vo; MULOCK (C.) and LANGDON (M. T.), "The icons of Yuhanna and Ibrahim the scribe," 4to; SIMON (O.), "Introduction to typography," 8vo; SMITH (W. Stevenson), "A history of Egyptian sculpture and painting in the Old Kingdom," 4to; SORBELLI (A.), "Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia," vol. 75: Bologna, 4to; WATERER (John W.), "Leather in life: being an outline of its preparation and uses in Britain yesterday and to-day," 4to.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY: ALINGTON (C. A.), "Europe: a personal and political survey," 8vo; AMERBACH (J.), "Die Korrespondenz . . . im Auftrag der Kommission für die Off. Bibliothek der Univ. Basel . . . Herausgegeben von A. Hart-

mann . . .," 2 vols., 8vo ; ANDERSON (Sir J.), " The machinery of Government " (Romanes Lecture, 1946), 8vo ; ASHLEY (Maurice), " Louis XIV and the greatness of France," 8vo ; ATIYAH (Edward), " An Arab tells his story : a study in loyalties," 8vo ; ATKINSON (R. J. C.), " Field archæology," 8vo ; AUCHMUTY (J. J.), " Lecky : a biographical and critical essay," 8vo ; AYDELOTTE (F.), " The vision of Cecil Rhodes : a review of the first forty years of the American Scholarships," 8vo ; BARRACLOUGH (G.), " The origins of modern Germany," 8vo ; BOYD (A. W.), " The country diary of a Cheshire man," 8vo ; BRIEVES, " The register of brieves, as contained in the Ayr MS., the Bute MS., and Quoniam Attachiamenta. Edited by . . . Lord Cooper." (Stair Society), 8vo ; BRINTON (Crane), " The United States and Britain," 8vo ; BRITTAIN (Sir Harry), " Pilgrims and pioneers," 8vo ; BROOKS (E. St. John), " Sir Christopher Hatton, Queen Elizabeth's favourite," 8vo ; BURPEE (Lawrence), " The discovery of Canada," 8vo ; " CANADIAN GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL," volumes 1-33, 1930-46, 33 vols., 8vo ; CARR (E. Hallett), " The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939 : an introduction to the study of international relations," 8vo ; CHADWICK (N. K.), " The beginnings of Russian history : an enquiry into sources," 8vo ; CHÊNG T'IEN-HSI, " China moulded by Confucius : the Chinese way in Western light," 8vo ; CHILDE (V. Gordon), " Scotland before the Scots " (the Rhind Lectures for 1944), 8vo ; CHURCHILL (W. S.), " Secret Session speeches . . . in the House of Commons, 1940-43," 8vo ; " Victory " (war speeches compiled by C. Eade), 8vo ; " CLASSICA ET MEDIÆVALIA : revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire. Publiée avec concours par F. Blatt," vols. 1-8, 1942-46, 8vo ; COLLINGWOOD (R. G.), " The idea of history," 8vo ; COOPER (William), " Henley-in-Arden : an ancient market town and its surroundings," 8vo ; COSTE-MESSELIÈRE (Pierre de la), " Delphes : photographies de Georges de Miré : texte et notices de P. de la Coste-Messelière," 4to ; COUPLAND (Sir Reginald), " India : a restatement," 8vo ; CRAIG (Sir John), " Newton at the Mint," 8vo ; CRUICKSHANK (C. G.), " Elizabeth's army," 8vo ; CRUICKSHANK (R. J.), " Roaring century, 1846-1946," 8vo ; (deals with the centenary of the *News Chronicle* and of the first editor,

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THE CHARTER ROOM IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., Ph.D.,
KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

THE nucleus of the Rylands Charter Room may be said to have been formed some forty years ago by the purchase, in November 1908, of fourteen Norfolk Compotus Rolls (13th-16th cent.) which had belonged to the famous collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Middle Hill. Since then the Library's collection of deeds, charters, rolls and similar documents has steadily increased in numbers and broadened in scope until it comprises some thirty thousand items, among which are materials relating to almost every county in England, valuable series of Scottish and French charters, a considerable quantity of documents concerning North Wales, and records and papers from the archives of a younger branch of the Florentine family of the Medici, the whole ranging in date from the eleventh century to the twentieth. It is, not surprisingly, rich in materials for the northern counties and particularly for Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire.

These collections are made available to students in two series of printed Hand-lists, corresponding to the two main divisions into which the contents of the Charter Room are divided: namely, documents acquired by gift or purchase and documents deposited on permanent or indefinite loan. It will be convenient in what is only intended to be a general survey to maintain this broad division here and, in dealing first with the former category, which comprises numerous unrelated and miscellaneous groupings of varying size and provenance, to use the printed lists as a basis for description. Three of these lists have already appeared and a fourth awaits publication.[1]

Of documents acquired by gift or purchase, the first to be dealt with in print were the Nicholas Papers (14th-18th cent.),

[1] See the bibliography at the end of this paper.

the Medici Records (11th-18th cent.), the Beaumont Charters (12th-17th cent.) and the Phillipps Charters (12th-17th cent.), all of which were arranged and described by Dr. Robert Fawtier, then Keeper of Western MSS., in a Hand-list which appeared in 1925. The first two of these four quite unrelated collections were acquired by the Library in May 1919. The Nicholas Papers had formed part of the archives of the family to which belonged Sir Edward Nicholas (d. 1669), Secretary of State to Charles I and Charles II, a selection of whose correspondence was edited by Sir George Warner for the Camden Society from an allied collection in B.M. Egerton MSS. 2533-62. Several items among the Rylands papers, including letters, relate to Sir Edward; others concern his son Sir John (d. 1704), Clerk to the Privy Council, and grandson Edward (d. 1726), Treasurer to Queen Mary, in both a public and private capacity. In addition there are many papers and accounts dealing with the Nicholas estates, including a fine series of court rolls (14th-18th cent.) for West Horsley, co. Surrey, at which place the family seat was situated. The Medici Records, at that time for the most part unknown to historians either of Florence or of the family itself, were brought to this country in 1919 by Cosimo de' Medici, Marchese della Castellina, and his brother, the Marchese Averardo. Consisting of papal briefs, imperial decrees, mercantile records, legal documents, letters, diaries, wills and other family papers, the whole extending in date from the eleventh to the eighteenth century, attention was soon attracted and an American purchaser found. But before the transaction could be completed the Italian Government, realising what the national archives were about to lose, intervened and declared that the entire collection fell within the category of state papers and was therefore inalienable. After a right of priority had been exercised, however, the collection was again offered at Christie's, rather depleted but still containing much of historical value. The mercantile records and certain unbound fifteenth-century letters were bought by Mr. H. Gordon Selfridge,[1] while the Library

[1] For his portion see G. R. B. Richards, *Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici: Letters and Documents from the Selfridge Collection of Medici Manuscripts* (Harvard U.P., 1932).

purchased a number of early deeds and legal records (11th-15th cent.), some papal documents (15th-16th cent.), miscellaneous correspondence (16th-17th cent.) and an interesting series of account books (1600-1620) and receipts (1550-1760). In the following year the Beaumont Charters were acquired. Brought together by a well-known Norman scholar, the Abbé de la Rue (1751-1835), they passed into the hands of the antiquary Thomas Stapleton (1805-1849), who apparently bequeathed them to his elder brother, the 8th Baron Beaumont, for they remained for some time at Carlton Towers, co. York, the Beaumont family seat. The collection was sold in London in October 1920 and from it the Library obtained over one hundred charters of the twelfth to the seventeenth century relating to the Abbeys of Notre Dame, Saint Martin, Saint Etienne and La Sainte-Trinité in the diocese of Bayeux, of Saint André and Sainte Marguerite de Gouffern in the diocese of Séez, of La Trinité in the diocese of Rouen, and of Notre Dame in the diocese of Coutances. Meanwhile the collection of Phillipps Charters had been steadily growing in numbers as the result of purchases made both directly at various Phillipps sales and indirectly through booksellers. To the original small group of Norfolk Compotus Rolls mentioned above had been added between 1910 and 1914 and, with a break during the war years, in 1919 and 1920, a considerable number of medieval English charters and deeds, among which the counties of Derbyshire, Kent, Yorkshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutland, Staffordshire and Durham were most fully represented. From the same source and at different times during the same period were also acquired various papal bulls (12th-17th cent.), thirty documents (mostly 14th cent.) relating to Tournai in Belgium, and a further collection of some one hundred and fifty charters and records relating to France (12th-17th cent.), of which thirty concern various places in Aquitaine during the fourteenth century. Several individual items among the Phillipps Charters in the Library are worthy of special mention, but there is space here to refer only to two : the projected settlement for the marriage of Isabella, daughter of King Edward III, with Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, dated 13 March, 1347, and bearing the seals of, among others,

the King, Edward the Black Prince, the Earls of Suffolk, Warwick and Northampton, and Richard Talbot, Steward of the Household, and, secondly, a confirmation by Pope Adrian IV to the Abbot of Saint-Bertin, O.S.B., of a grant by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury and Papal Legate, of the churches of Trulegh and Chilham, co. Kent, dated 27 March 1157, with a leaden seal.

The four collections mentioned above were numbered independently of each other by Dr. Fawtier under the separate headings " Beaumont Charters ", " Nicholas Papers ", " Medici Records ", and " Phillipps Charters ". In the second Hand-list of documents in the possession of the Library, which was published in 1935, his successor, Dr. Moses Tyson, faced with the rather more complicated problem of dealing with two thousand miscellaneous items acquired from more than forty different sources, began the series of " Rylands Charters "; that is, he began afresh with " No. 1 " and maintained a single series of running numbers throughout, while, of course, preserving original groups. Of these many groups the largest and perhaps the most important is that purchased in July 1933 from the Rev. P. G. Langdon of Orkney House, Bedford, which consists of, roughly, seven hundred charters and similar evidences dating from the early twelfth to the nineteenth century, more than two-thirds being pre-1500. This collection, apparently once the property of the Stanleys of Hooton, co. Chester, has proved a valuable addition to accessible sources for the history of that county and many of its ancient families. It is richest in Wirral deeds but items relating to many other places in Cheshire as well as in Lancashire and Flintshire also occur, together with a large number of documents concerning the families of Lancelyn of Poulton, Pulford, Meols, Bamville, and, of course, Stanley. The importance of the seals may also be mentioned. Apart from a fine series of private seals of heraldic or patterned design, among which the old county families and their branches are represented, there are also found, to give only a selection, the seals of Ranulf II (1129/39), Hugh II (*temp.* late Henry II) and Ranulf III (*c.* 1202/29), Earls of Chester; Adam de Stanford, Archdeacon of Chester (1272/74) and the

Officiality of the Archdeaconry (1384); Robert Botyller, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England (1445); Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester (c. 1300); the Borough of Preston, Lancashire (1333); the Chester Exchequer Seal of the Black Prince (1349) and an example of his Privy Seal (1351). Another Cheshire group in Dr. Tyson's list has the additional value of supplementing two important collections of family archives previously deposited in the Library by Col. and Mrs. Ramsden-Jodrell (in 1922) and R. H. G. Tatton, Esq. (in 1925), both of which will be mentioned again below; this group, presented by Lord Stanley of Alderley in April 1927, consists of over one hundred and thirty deeds dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century dealing with the Jodrells and their property in Yeardesley-cum-Whalley and elsewhere in the county, the Tatton lands in Northenden, and the Winningtons and their estates in and near Northwich. Rather later in date but with interesting literary associations are the three hundred and fifty deeds, grants, conveyances, rentals, wills, bonds and similar documents concerning the Salusbury family and their property in the county of Flint between 1490 and 1837, for to that family belonged Mrs. Thrale, the intimate friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson for over twenty years; a number of items have endorsements in Dr. Johnson's hand. This collection came to the Library in January 1931 with the Thrale-Piozzi papers, which contain correspondence, private and business, and literary works, diaries and other manuscripts of Mrs. Thrale, now forming part of the Rylands English MSS. The remaining items which make up the total of two thousand dealt with in this Hand-list are too miscellaneous in character to be singled out here and we can only note that, in addition to Cheshire and Lancashire, some thirty counties are represented by documents extending in date from the time of Henry III to that of Victoria. Included are a comparatively large number of court rolls and records, bailiffs' accounts for St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester (1448-1449, 1522-1526), and charters relating to the Priories of Plympton, co. Devon (13th-14th cent.), Swavesey, co. Cambridge (13th-14th cent.) and Peterstone (1429) and Westacre (1478), both in co. Norfolk.

The series of Rylands Charters has been continued by the present Keeper in two further Hand-lists, dealing with some two thousand five hundred additions ; the first of these appeared in 1937, the second is to be published shortly. As in the preceding case these documents were acquired from many sources and the varying size and importance of the different groups make possible only a general indication of their scope. In the published list are a number of interesting Cheshire, Derbyshire and Lancashire collections, and notably those relating to the families of Aston (16th-19th cent.) and Hadfield (14th-19th cent.) and the Rochdale and Rossendale areas (16th-19th cent.), respectively. Among numerous other items of interest as regards these counties are a small group of conveyances and similar documents respecting the Old Custom House and the New Custom House at Liverpool (early 18th-early 19th cent.) and another concerning Lancashire property of " the Hospital and Free School in Etwall and Repton ", co. Derby (1746-1813). A larger group of three hundred and fifty rentals, particulars of estates and legal documents was formerly part of the miscellaneous collection known as the Clayton MSS. and relates mainly to Lincolnshire manors and property in which, among others, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, his son George (2nd Duke), members of the Manners family (Earls of Rutland), and Sir Robert Clayton and his partner Alderman John Morris were interested ; several items concern the houses, sites and lands of dissolved Lincolnshire monasteries, among these being Bardney, Barlings, Heynings, Newstead, Spalding and Tupholme. This collection, which takes its name from Sir Robert Clayton (1629-1707), M.P. for the City of London, Sheriff and Lord Mayor, and a Director of the Bank of England, ranges in date from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, although the bulk is of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A further section of the Clayton MSS. and a second group of Lincolnshire documents from another source are dealt with in the fourth and, as yet, unpublished Hand-list in this series. The Lincolnshire collection, which came to the Library from the archives of the Peacock family, formerly Lords of the Manor of Bottesford, extends from the fourteenth to the nineteenth

century and contains documents concerning many manors in that county, but particularly, in addition to Bottesford itself, Ashby, Messingham, Scotter and Yaddlethorpe; for Scotter there is also a valuable series of bailiffs' accounts from 1372 to 1544. The Clayton MSS. in this list, over two hundred and fifty in number, are more miscellaneous in character than those dealt with in the previous one, although they cover roughly the same period; several counties are represented, but London most fully. A smaller group relating to London, also sixteenth to eighteenth century, consists of leases and mortgages of property owned by the Coke family, of which the famous lawyer Sir Edward Coke was a member. Documents of all kinds concerning Lancashire (notably Flixton and the Rochdale, Hundersfield and Spotland areas), Cheshire and Yorkshire (mainly the North and West Ridings) are numerous, but, with two exceptions, they belong rather to scattered groups of varying size than to any more compact and inter-related units. The exceptions both relate to Cheshire. One, presented by the Earl of Stamford, comprises two long series of leases, some five hundred in all, of lands and premises in Dean Row and Styal, in Wilmslow parish, between 1656 and 1833, together with court records and suit rolls for the manor and fee of Bollen cum Norcliffe from 1647 to 1832. The other consists of records of the township of High Legh near Knutsford for the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, numbering about two hundred items; included are many Settlement and Removal Orders and Indentures of Apprenticeship and, not by any means the least important, the Accounts of the Constables (1737-1798), Overseers of the Poor (1738-1782), and Surveyors of the Highways (1738-1789) for that township. One individual charter in this Hand-list may perhaps be mentioned separately: a grant, of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, made by Roger (III) de Montbegon to Monk Bretton Priory, co. York, of the Forest of Holcombe and pasture within certain specified bounds in Lancashire. This charter, a copy of which was entered in the Monk Bretton Cartulary (now B.M. Lansdowne MS. 405, f. 43), bears the fine equestrian seal of Roger de Montbegon; he died in 1226.

So far we have been concerned with collections actually in the possession of the Rylands, whether acquired by gift or by purchase. But in addition the Library has, for over twenty-five years, received into its charge a number of collections deposited on permanent or indefinite loan. Throughout this period attention has been drawn in the pages of the BULLETIN to the disastrous traffic in and indiscriminate destruction of important sources of our national and local history which is constantly taking place and, in an effort to counteract this, the Librarian has on many occasions [1] expressed his willingness to house in the Charter Room any collections of manuscripts, especially those relating to the north of England or in the possession of families connected with that area, which the owners are either unable or unwilling to dispose of, or for which they are no longer able to provide suitable accommodation. Not only is the safe custody of such collections undertaken, the services of the staff are also offered in caring for, arranging and making them readily accessible for purposes of reference and study, under the usual safeguards. Apart from card catalogues, Hand-lists are prepared on the lines of those already mentioned and these are either published in the printed series of such lists or are available for consultation in the Library.

Since 1921 the custody of some twenty thousand deposited documents has been accepted and, apart from a number of smaller groups, there are now twelve major collections of this nature in the Charter Room. These are dealt with here in the order in which they have been received. (1) *The Mainwaring MSS. (12th-17th cent.)*, the first large collection to be entrusted to the Library's care, was deposited in 1921 by Sir Harry Mainwaring, Bart., late of Peover Hall, Cheshire, whose family is one of the oldest in the county. In addition to well over one thousand deeds and charters relating to the Mainwarings

[1] From 1922 onwards (see BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, VI, 382, and the Notes and News section of subsequent BULLETINS, e.g. vols. IX, XI, XIX, XX, XXIII). See also "Safeguarding Manuscript Sources of National and Local History", 1930, and "The Preservation of Records of National and Local History", 1933, both by Dr. Guppy (reprinted from vols. XIV and XVII). In vol. XXX, no. 1 (Oct. 1946), appeared an account of "The Work and Aims of the National Register of Archives", which has also been reprinted.

and their estates (12th-17th cent.), many rentals and court records (1425-1664) and a number of genealogical rolls (1592-1682), it includes state papers, family papers, journals, diaries, estate books, household account books and original letters, mostly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, among which are miscellaneous papers, some dealing with his official duties, of Col. Roger Whitley, Knight Harbinger to Charles II. (2) *The Jodrell MSS.* (*14th-18th cent.*), which were deposited in the following year by Col. and Mrs. Ramsden-Jodrell of Taxal, concern the family and estates, for the most part in Cheshire and Derbyshire, of the Jodrells, who, like the Mainwarings, had long been established in the county. From time to time since 1922 some five hundred additional deeds and papers have been added to the original deposit. These are not included in Dr. Fawtier's *Hand-List of Mainwaring and Jodrell MSS.*, which was published in 1923, but a card-catalogue of them is available in the Library. (3) *The Clitheroe Court Rolls* (*1311-1825*). In 1924 the Library was appointed by the Master of the Rolls, under the Law of Property (Amendment) Act, an official depository for manorial and other documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire and as a result a number of additional collections have been entrusted to our care. One of the most important of these is that deposited by the Lords of the Honor of Clitheroe, consisting of the court records of the manors under their jurisdiction, namely, Chatburn, Worston and Pendleton, Accrington (Old and New), Tottington, Ightenhill (including Pendle), Colne and Trawden, and of the Wapentake of Blackburn, co. Lancaster. These records comprise four hundred rolls (1311-1733) and forty large folio volumes (1733-1825). (4) *The Tatton MSS.* (*13th-18th cent.*), one thousand five hundred deeds and evidences of another old Cheshire family, the Tattons of Wythenshawe, were deposited in 1925 by R. H. G. Tatton, Esq. They relate to various places in the county, but more particularly to Wythenshawe, Northenden and Macclesfield, and include many early charters, together with leases, marriage settlements, rent books, suit rolls, jury presentments and similar documents of the Tatton estates. Although individual items cannot be particularised

here, the presence of part of a roll of the Mayor's Court for Macclesfield of 6 Henry IV (1404-1405) may be noted. (5) *The Lady Crutchley MSS.* (*12th-19th cent.*), deposited in August 1926 by Lady Crutchley, consist of one thousand Derbyshire, Lancashire and Suffolk deeds and papers, roughly one-quarter dating from before 1500. Numerous court rolls, bailiffs' accounts and rentals also occur, among which the lengthy series of court rolls for Longford, co. Derby (1367-1602) and Bourn Hall in Wherstead, co. Suffolk (1275-1717) are worthy of mention. This collection also contains two fine seventeenth-century genealogical rolls, one of the family of Longford of Longford, the other of the Redich family, showing, respectively, forty-one and eighty-six emblazoned coats of arms. (6) *The Pyke House Deeds* (*14th-18th cent.*), a collection of over six hundred items relating to the Pyke House estate in co. Lancaster, deposited in 1929 on behalf of the Trustees of Mrs. Beswick Royd's Settlement. (7) *The Clowes Deeds* (*13th-19th cent.*), deposited in the Library in June 1933 on behalf of Legh Algernon Clowes, Esq., J.P., of Norbury Hall, Ashbourne, co. Derby, concern the Clowes estates, mainly in South-East Lancashire and particularly in the Manchester area. One of the features of this collection is the large number of papers and original letters of the Chetham family; Samuel Clowes, Esq., married, in 1716, Mary, sister and coheiress of Edward Chetham of Castleton, co. Lancaster. (8) *British Records Association* (*16th-19th cent.*). A collection, to which additions are constantly being made, of miscellaneous documents relating to the northern counties and, of these, mainly to Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire, which has been deposited over a period of years by the British Records Association; it now totals about one thousand eight hundred items. (9) *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* (*16th-19th cent.*). Over seven hundred documents deposited by the Society and concerning for the most part Lancashire and Cheshire. A considerable number relate to Bretherton, Much Hoole and Atherton, all in co. Lancaster. (10) *The Hatton Wood MSS.* (*12th-18th cent.*). This valuable collection, formed by the antiquary Richard Henry Wood, Esq., F.S.A. (1820-1908) and deposited in the

Library in 1940 by Captain J. Hatton Wood, differs in nature from the other deposited collections in that it is not confined to any single family, estate or area, for the one thousand five hundred items of which it is composed have been brought together from many sources. The largest single group consists of four hundred deeds (13th-18th cent.) of the old Cheshire family of Legh of Norbury Booths Hall, roughly half being pre-1500. But by far the greater portion of the collection is made up of miscellaneous, one might almost say " hand-picked ", items acquired, sometimes individually, at various sales or from other antiquaries. Among these are several charters relating to monastic houses, including Worcester Priory (12th cent.), Waltham Abbey and its Bedfordshire estates (12th-13th cent.), Sempringham Priory (12th cent.), St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester and its holdings in Lees and Cranage (13th cent.), Christchurch, Canterbury, and the Priory lands in Kent and Suffolk (13th-14th cent.), the Abbeys of Kirkstead, Pipewell, Robertsbridge and Whalley (all four Cistercian), and the Abbeys of Fontévrault, Noyers and St. Michael, Tréport (12th-13th cent.). A number of royal charters occur both among the monastic deeds and elsewhere in the collection, the earliest dating from the reign of Henry I. Of the remaining items over two hundred, mostly pre-1500, relate to Kent and smaller groups are concerned with Gloucestershire (mainly Bristol), Lancashire, Shropshire and Lincolnshire ; the rest are divided between over twenty other counties. The collection is also rich in seals of many types—royal, ecclesiastical, monastic, local and private—including a number which are either unique or of great rarity. Among these may be mentioned the seals of Simon, Bishop of Chichester (1204/1207), John Chaundler, Dean of Salisbury (1418), Walter Burstoke, Abbot of Ford, co. Devon (1396), Elias, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England (*temp.* Edward I), Wymondley Priory, co. Hertford (early 13th cent.), the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, Eastbridge, Canterbury (early 13th cent.), the Fraternity of Kalendars of Bristol (1361), and the earlier (1384) and later (1460) seals of St. Peter's Church, Bristol. Descriptions of these and other selected examples, together with a general note on the Hatton

Wood seals, will be found in an article reprinted from the current number of the Library BULLETIN. The only codex in this collection is a large folio volume of Cheshire pedigrees compiled in the early seventeenth century and illustrated with over one thousand five hundred emblazoned coats of arms; it was formerly the property of the Helsby family, to which belonged the Cheshire historian of that name.

Of the twelve major groups in the Charter Room to which reference has already been made two large, allied collections still remain to be noticed, numbering over ten thousand charters, title-deeds, family papers and similar evidences and covering the period from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. Even were their scope and size no obstacle to an adequate summary, they have been acquired so recently that a detailed examination has not yet been possible and the necessarily brief account which follows cannot pretend to do justice to them. Both have been entrusted to the care of the Library by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres [1] and both, it may be stated without exaggeration, are of first-rate importance, relating as they do to the history and estates of the House of Lindsay, one of the most famous of Scottish families, the head of which, by reason of the Earldom of Crawford, created in 1398, is the premier Earl. These collections are the Haigh Muniments of the Lindsays and the Scottish Muniments formerly preserved at Haigh Hall. (11) *The Haigh Muniments (13th-20th cent.)* comprise about six thousand items and are arranged in thirty-three large boxes, lettered as follows, the figures in brackets indicating the number of boxes: *A*, Adlington and Worthington (one); *B*, Aspull (seven); *C*, Bellingham (one); *D*, Blackrod (four); *E*, Haigh (eleven); *F*, London, Manchester, Preston, Blackburn, Upholland (one); *G*, Wales (two); *H*, Wigan (three); *K*, Miscellaneous (two); *Unmarked*, 19th century Colliery Accounts (one). The connection of the Lindsays with Lancashire dates from the year 1780 when Alexander, the then Earl of Balcarres, married his cousin-german Elizabeth Dalrymple, the heiress of the Bradshaighs of Haigh,

[1] See "The Bibliotheca Lindesiana", 1946 (reprinted from the Library BULLETIN, vol. XXX).

near Wigan; his son, James, twenty-fourth Earl of Crawford, was summoned to the House of Lords in 1826 as Baron Wigan of Haigh Hall. (12) *The Scottish Muniments* (*early 14th-19th cent.*), estimated to number between four and five thousand individual items, are contained in twenty-six large boxes, twenty-two marked with a starred letter of the alphabet, from A to T (there are two each for E, F and H, and J is not used), and four additional ones. The basic arrangement is that of peerage titles and estates, within which each successive holder occurs chronologically, in many cases not only with the charters, deeds, accounts, estate papers and other legal documents relating to his title and lands but also, from the sixteenth century, with personal and miscellaneous papers, and private and business correspondence. Thus, among the earlier boxes are found muniments of the Earldom of Crawford in the regular succession from David, the first Earl (14th cent.), to George, the twenty-second Earl (18th cent.), and similarly elsewhere in the collection for the titles of Lindsay, Balcarres and Garnock and various individual baronies (such as Crawford, Edzell, Menmuir, Glenesk, Finhaven), together with many subsidiary groupings for miscellaneous baronies and estates; separate boxes are devoted to evidences relating to the Lords Spynie and to the Leuchars estate. Among the many early documents which occur are a number of royal charters, the first in date being a grant by Robert, King of Scotland, in 1317. A number of additional groups relate to various Countesses of Crawford and other ladies of the family, the largest single one consisting of miscellaneous papers, legal, personal and testamentary, of Catherine Campbell (d. 1578), grand-daughter of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, and wife of David, ninth Earl of Crawford. In addition to the main line, two boxes contain title-deeds and similar evidences of (*a*) other Lindsay families from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, including the Lindsays of Aikenhatt, Balgavies, Broadland, Kinnettles and Vayne, and (*b*) other Scottish families from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, among which are those of Campbell, Grahame, Ogilvie, Scrymgeour, Lyon, Forbes, Ramsay and Erskine. Included also are a considerable number of certified transcripts of and

extracts from original documents, mainly fourteenth to seventeenth century, in both public collections and private muniment chests; among these, to cite only one example, are several bundles respecting claims to the Dukedom of Montrose. The whole collection is one of great importance and should prove a mine of information to both the historian and the genealogist; to assist him in his search the latter will find many genealogical papers and inventories, as well as a box of peerage papers.

One other aspect of the Charter Room may be mentioned here. At various points in the above survey reference has been made to seals, of which the Library has a large collection, mostly attached to their relevant documents, although a few are loose. There can be little doubt that a catalogue of seals in the Charter Room would be of great assistance both to the local historian and to the student of sigillography in general, for a number of rare examples occur. But so far it has been necessary to concentrate mainly on the storing, arranging and cataloguing of the documents themselves, although the presence of a seal is noted in the descriptions given in the Library Hand-lists. Certain selected items, however, have been described more fully in two recent articles, one dealing with Cheshire seals (12th-17th cent.) and the other with some outstanding examples for the same period which are found among the Hatton Wood MSS. Both are listed in the following bibliography, in which are brought together all Library Hand-lists, printed and manuscript, and similar guides to the contents of the Charter Room.

A. *Documents owned by the Library:*

Hand-List of Charters, Deeds and Similar Documents in the Possession of the John Rylands Library. Manchester, 1925, *etc. In progress.*

Vol. 1. By R. Fawtier [The Beaumont Charters, pp. 1-19; The Nicholas Papers, pp. 20-26; The Medici Records, pp. 27-42; The Phillipps Charters, pp. 43-133]. 1925.

Vol. 2. By M. Tyson [Beginning the series of "Rylands Charters"]. 1935.

Vol. 3. By F. Taylor. 1937.

Vol. 4. By F. Taylor [*awaiting publication*].

B. *Deposited Documents:*

Hand-List of the Mainwaring and Jodrell Manuscripts at present in the custody of the John Rylands Library. By R. Fawtier. Manchester, 1923.

Schedule of Tatton Manuscripts Deposited in the John Rylands Library. By R. Fawtier, M. Tyson and F. Taylor, 1925-39. [Typewritten.]

Hand-List of the Lady Crutchley MSS. Deposited in the John Rylands Library. By F. Taylor. [*Awaiting publication.*]

Hand-List of the Clowes Deeds Deposited in the John Rylands Library. By F. Taylor. [*Awaiting publication.*]

The Hatton Wood Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. By F. Taylor. Manchester, 1940. [A general survey. Reprinted from the Library BULLETIN, vol. XXIV.]

Index of Haigh Muniments. By F. H. Wright, 1936. [Typewritten; accompanied the Collection.]

Inventory of Scottish Muniments at Haigh. 2 vols. [n.d.]. [Typewritten; accompanied the Collection.]

C. *Seals:*

Selected Cheshire Seals (12th-17th cent.) from the Collections in the John Rylands Library. By F. Taylor. Manchester, 1942. [Reprinted from the Library BULLETIN, vol. XXVI.]

Ecclesiastical, Monastic and Local Seals (12th-17th cent.) from the Hatton Wood MSS. in the John Rylands Library. By F. Taylor. 1947. [Reprinted from the Library BULLETIN, vol. XXX.]

ECCLESIASTICAL, MONASTIC AND LOCAL SEALS (12TH-17TH CENT.) FROM THE HATTON WOOD MSS. IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., PH.D.,

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

THE seals described below are found in a collection of deeds, charters and similar documents which was deposited in the Library in 1940 by Captain J. Hatton Wood. It was formed, mainly last century, by his great-uncle, the late Richard Henry Wood (1820-1908), an assiduous and discriminating collector of manuscripts who was for fourteen years (1868-1882) Honorary Secretary of the Chetham Society and from 1865 until his death a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; he also acted as the latter Society's Local Secretary for Lancashire. The general scope of the collection, which consists of some one thousand five hundred items acquired from various sources and dates from the twelfth century to the eighteenth, has been indicated elsewhere [1] and we are concerned here only with the seals, of which it includes a comparatively large number, some of great rarity.

Of the different types which occur probably the most important will prove to be the monastic, the ecclesiastical, the local and the private. Specimens of royal seals from the early thirteenth to the nineteenth century occur, but, as is often the case in private collections, they are mostly imperfect or fragmentary and do not add anything to the information given by Wyon, Birch, Jenkinson and others. The three finest surviving examples, all unattached, are the Second Seal of Queen Elizabeth (in use 1586-1603), the Second Seal of James I (in use 1605-1625), and the Great Seal of Queen Victoria as used from her accession to May 1900. Among other specimens worthy of

[1] See the present writer's "The Hatton Wood MSS. in the John Rylands Library", 1940 (reprinted from the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. XXIV).

note are the seals of the Court of Common Pleas (1502), of the County Palatine of Chester (1520), both perfect and showing fine impressions, and, for Ireland, of the Court of the Exchequer ;[1] the last-named, which is unattached, is marked on its parchment strip as being temp. Henry IV. Another important example has unfortunately survived in only a large fragment ; this is a seal *ad causas* of the Admiralty Court, attached to a document of 28 November 1580, Edward, Earl of Lincoln, then being Lord High Admiral.[2] The Statute Merchant Seals of London (1348) and Shrewsbury (1369), both with counter-seals, may also be mentioned. Private seals of equestrian, heraldic or miscellaneous design are frequent, a number of them being twelfth century. The heraldic seals, which are particularly fine and well-preserved, include those of John, son of Sir William de Pluckley (five examples, in the 1280's and 1290's), Richard de Brankescombe (1368), John Lestraunge, Lord of Knockin (1385), John de Cockerington (1386), John Cheyne (1399), John Tochet, Sire of Audley (1406), William, Lord Zouche (1430), Walter Norton of Bristol (1435) and Richard Dering of Pluckley, co. Kent (1480). An unusual seal[3] is that of William, *dictus* Conrad, *arbalistrarius illustris domini Regis Anglie* (1305) ; in black wax, it shows a shield charged with a cross-bowman and has the legend ✠ S' WILL'I CONRAD. The private seal (1364) of Simon de Brusele, Master of the Hospital of St. Mary at Dover, also occurs.

In the present paper, however, attention has been concentrated on ecclesiastical, monastic and local seals, and eighteen have been selected for description on grounds of rarity or fine workmanship. A number appear to be unique. At least they are not recorded among the large collections at the British

[1] On the Exchequer Seal for Ireland see Hilary Jenkinson, "The Great Seal of England : Deputed or Departmental Seals ", pp. 317-318, 320-321 and pl. xciii (ap. *Archæologia*, vol. 85).

[2] It is not recorded in Birch, *Cat. of Seals in the British Museum*, or by H. H. Brindley, *Casts of Seals . . . Exhibited in the Seal Room, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.* Nor is it mentioned in any of Mr. Brindley's contributions to *The Mariner's Mirror.*

[3] It was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in February 1873 (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., v. 448-449).

Museum, Public Record Office or Society of Antiquaries [1] nor has it been possible to trace examples of them elsewhere. Such are the seals of Simon, Bishop of Chichester (1204/1207), John Chaundler, Dean of Salisbury (1418), Walter Burstoke, Abbot of Ford, co. Devon (1396), Wymondley Priory, co. Hertford (early 13th cent.), Elias, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England [2] (*temp.* Edward I) and St. Peter's Church, Bristol (1384). A later seal (1460) of St. Peter's Church, showing a different design, also occurs in the collection and of this apparently only one other example is extant, and that dating from the following century. In at least two other cases an original described below appears to have survived elsewhere only in a sulphur cast. Although the earlier of these, the fine seal of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, Eastbridge, Canterbury, was listed in the British Museum *Catalogue of Seals*, the presence of a counter-seal has not previously been noticed. In the other case the cast has remained unidentified since 1887, for Birch [3] had insufficient information and could only catalogue it as the seal of " an uncertain religious house " ; from the example in the Hatton Wood MSS., which is an original (1361), it can be shown to be the rare seal of the Fraternity of Kalendars of Bristol. Other examples catalogued in the present list, such as those of Garnerius de Neapoli, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England (1190), Melros Abbey (1539), Dryburgh Abbey (1546) and the local seals are perhaps rather better known, but even here previously recorded examples have been frequently either imperfect originals or casts, and catalogue descriptions have suffered accordingly. Four items, none of them entirely unknown, have been omitted because they are too fragmentary. These are: (*a*) the Later Seal of

[1] I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Francis Wormald, M.A., Mr. R. B. Pugh, M.A., and Mr. Philip Corder, M.A., for kindly checking a list forwarded to them against collections in the British Museum, Public Record Office and Society of Antiquaries, respectively, not yet recorded in print.

[2] See No. 10 below, where is also a brief description of another uncommon seal of a Prior of England, that of Robert Botyller (1445), which occurs in another collection in the Library. Little seems to be known about these two Priors.

[3] *Cat. of Seals in the B.M.*, i. no. 2727.

Lanthony Priory, co. Gloucester (1537), a pointed oval of which only roughly one-third has survived. A full description is given by Birch, from a sulphur cast.[1] (*b*) The Common Seal of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford, attached to a document dated 11 September 1581, of which only a small fragment of the lower half now remains. This, again, has fortunately been described in some detail by Birch[2] from a cast. (*c*) The First Common Seal of Bristol (1366), a large fragment in red wax, showing a fine impression. This seal is well-known.[3] (*d*) The Third Seal of Christchurch Priory, Canterbury, fifteenth century, unattached; the left half only has survived.[4]

In the descriptions below the following information has been given about each seal where possible :—

(1) A brief title. (2) The date of (*a*) the document to which it is attached or (*b*) in one case, unattached, a date based on style and external evidence. No seal here bears a date in its legend.

(3) Colour. (4) Size. If round, the diameter is given. If a pointed oval, this is indicated and both diameters are given. No other shape occurs here. (5) Condition of seal, perfect or imperfect; if the latter, an attempt is made to indicate the extent of the imperfection. (6) Condition of impression(s). *Note.*—It has been found convenient to indicate such particulars of a counter-seal as differ from those of the obverse under 8 (*b*) below.

(7) Method of attachment: (*a*) Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment, or from plaited silks, or (*b*) on a tongue. In the latter case, the length and breadth of the tongue and the length from the root to the edge of the seal are given in inches. If the seal is unattached, this is stated.

(8) Description of device(s): (*a*) obverse, (*b*) reverse or counter-seal.

[1] *Cat. of Seals in the B.M.*, i. no. 3415. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. no. 5275.

[3] See, e.g., Birch, *op. cit.*, ii. no. 4679; Pedrick, *Borough Seals of the Gothic Period*, pp. 47-49 and pl.; Jewitt and St. John Hope, *Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office*, i. 243; *Archæologia*, xxi. pp. 79 *seqq.*

[4] This seal is described in, e.g., Birch, *op. cit.*, i. nos. 1373-1378 and pl. ix; *V. C. H. Kent*, ii. pp. 120-121 and pl. facing p. 114.

(9) Legend(s) and border, if other than a mere line. It has not been found possible to have the exact form of all the letterings of the legends reproduced in type.

(10) A general note. The references given here do not pretend to be exhaustive.

The Hatton Wood collection has not yet been fully numbered, but the brief heading preceding each description is a sufficient finding reference.

1. Simon de Camera, Bishop of Chichester. 1204/1207.

Uncoloured wax, varnished brown. Pointed oval. *c.* $2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{5}{8}''$ when complete. Large fragment, consisting of most of the lower half of the seal, and a small portion (showing part of the Bishop's face, rubbed) of the obverse which has been glued into place on the parchment strip by a former owner. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

O. The Bishop, full length, in mass vestments, standing on a plain corbel. In his left hand a pastoral staff. [His right hand was presumably raised in benediction.]

[. . . . . G]RATIA: D[. . . . . .]

R. The lower portion of a seated figure in a flowing robe, facing front, on a carved throne; the feet, which are bare, rest on a small, projecting platform. Between them is the lower portion of what is apparently a large cross with a point in the base, held in front of the figure.

[. . . . . .]A: VERITAS [. . . . . .]

Note: Attached to an undated inspeximus by Simon of a confirmation made to the Abbey of St. Michael, Tréport, by his predecessor Hilary, Bishop of Chichester (1147-1169), of the vills of *Boninton'* and *Pleidenne* [Bullingtons in Bexhill and Playden, both in Sussex], which Robert, Count of Eu, had granted them.

There is some doubt whether the half-legible letter following GRATIA in the legend on the obverse is a D or a C. When complete the reverse probably read EGO SVM VIA VERITAS ET VITA, which would fit as regards space. This legend, from John xiv. 6, was also used on the reverse of the seal of the Dean

and Chapter, the matrix of which is stated by Birch to have been probably of the thirteenth century (Birch, *op. cit.*, i. nos. 1469–72. Engraved in Dallaway, *Western Sussex*, i. 37; ii. pt. i. p. 29).

No example of this seal, original or cast, appears to be recorded at the British Museum, Public Record Office, Society of Antiquaries or, as Dr. Hilda Johnstone kindly informs me, Chichester, nor has any so far been traced elsewhere. Prof. C. R. Cheney has kindly drawn my attention to Dr. Armitage Robinson's note (ap. *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 143-144) showing that Simon is correctly referred to as Simon de Camera, not, as the *D.N.B.* and modern writers following Matthew of Paris have called him, Simon de Wells.

2. John Chaundler, Dean of Salisbury. 1418.

Red. Pointed oval. $1\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$ when complete. Imperfect, but lacking only a small portion at the base and on the left side. Fine impression.

On a tongue $6\frac{1}{4}''$ long and $\frac{1}{4}''$ broad, the top being $2\frac{3}{8}''$ from the root.

Two canopied niches in which are the Virgin, with hands joined in prayer, and, on her left, the Son, with right hand raised in blessing and left holding a cross; each is crowned, wearing a long robe, and seated on a throne. On each side, in a niche, a standing figure; both are slightly chipped, obscuring details, but the one to the Son's left bears a sword in his left hand, held point downwards by his side. At the base of the seal an arch, the top only of which has survived; no doubt it contained the figure of the Dean in prayer.

S . [Io]hīs Chaund[. . . . . S]ar.'

Beaded border.

Note: Attached to an order by John, Bishop of Salisbury, in respect of non-payment by William Ropkyn *alias* Mason of Reading of an annual rent of ten shillings bequeathed to the parish church of St. Mary, Reading, by the last Will of Ralph Bymylas: *In cuius rei testimonium sigillum quo dum decanatui ecclesie nostre Sarum prefuimus utebamur presentibus duximus apponendum.* Dated at Salisbury, 17 November 1418.

Chaundler, who was Dean of Salisbury from 1404 to 1418, had only been elected Bishop two days earlier; he was consecrated on 12 December (see E. F. Jacob, *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury* (1414-1443), ii. 645).

No example of this seal, original or cast, appears to be recorded at the British Museum, Public Record Office or Society of Antiquaries, nor has any as yet been traced elsewhere. Chaundler's seal as Bishop seems to be equally rare and is mentioned in the late Bishop Wordsworth's paper on the seals of Bishops of Salisbury (ap. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xxiv. 220 *seqq.*) as one "still wanting to complete our series". Cf. the device with that previously adopted by Ralph Erghum, Bishop from 1375 to 1388 (Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pl. facing p. 230, no. 20).

3. Wymondley Priory, Co. Hertford, with Counter-Seal of Prior. Early Thirteenth Century.

Dark green wax. Pointed oval. $1\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1''$. Perfect. Fine impression; the faces now rubbed.

Pendent from cords of plaited green, white and red silk; the ends embedded in the wax project separately at each side of the seal, not together at the base.

O. The Virgin, robed and crowned, with nimbus, seated on a throne, which is without back, her feet resting on a pedestal. In her right hand a sceptre fleury (or a lily in flower), the head of which projects over her right shoulder. On her left knee, embraced by her left arm, sits the Child, with nimbus.

. S : HOSPITAL ' : S'CE : MARIE : DE : WIMONDESL ' : the N being reversed.

R. Counter-seal. Pointed oval. $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{7}{8}''$. Perfect. Fine impression. Above the seal is an indentation, caused by the handle or loop.

A profile bust with the tonsure, to the right.

✠ SIGILL ' WILL'I PRIORIS DE WILEMVNDEL ', with no spacing between the words.

Note: Attached to a grant, early thirteenth century, made by William, the Prior, and the Canons Regular of Wymondley to Richard, chaplain and vicar of St. Peter's Church, Arlesey

[co. Bedford]. This document, a survival from the muniments of Waltham Abbey, where it was in the *Alricheseya* series (see F. Taylor, *The Hatton Wood MSS. in the John Rylands Library*, p. 6), was owned in the middle of last century by Stacey Grimaldi and while in his possession was described, together with a brief note on the seal, by John Gough Nichols in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vi. (1840), p. 208.

A sulphur cast of a fifteenth century Chapter seal of Wymondley, imperfect and without counter-seal, is described by Birch, *op. cit.*, i. no. 4379; the device shows a number of differences from the one described above. *V.C.H. Hertford* (iv. 443), which cites Birch, dates his seal fourteenth century; it is reproduced *ibid.*, iv. pl. facing page 434. A seal of similar design is mentioned by Dugdale (*Monasticon*, vi. 555) as "extant in the Chapter House, Westminster, attached to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy, 1534". See also the engraving in Clutterbuck's *History of Hertfordshire*, iii. 20, no. 6. But as yet no other example of the Hatton Wood seal described above has been encountered.

4. Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, Eastbridge, Canterbury. Early Thirteenth Century.

Bronze-green. Pointed oval. 3″ × 2″. Perfect, save for one chipped letter in the legend on the obverse. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

O. St. Thomas Becket, the patron Saint, wearing a low mitre with a horn at each side and vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble with orphreys round neck and border, and a vertical strip down the front. His right hand is raised in benediction, the two fingers extending into the space reserved for the legend, where they separate the B and R of the last word. In his left hand is a plain pastoral staff, with a single coil, turned inwards, with which he is piercing the head of a knight in armour on whom he is standing. The knight, a very much smaller figure, lies on his back across the base of the seal and has his left arm extended below his body; in the hand is a sword, the point projecting between the S' and TOME of the legend. The field is plain.

✠ SIGILLVM : HOSPITALIS : S' : TOM[E] : CANTVARIE DE : EASTBREGE : there is no break between DE and the preceding word.

R. Counter-seal, oval. $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times 1''$. Perfect. Fair impression of the device, fine one of the legend.

Full length figure, apparently bareheaded, standing, holding a slender staff in the hand of the extended left arm. The right arm is raised outward and bent at the elbow; in the hand is what appears to be a book, or possibly a scroll, held at shoulder height. Details of the figure not clear. In the field sprigs of foliage.

✠ TIMETE DEVM ET DILIGITE : with no spacing between the words.

Note : This fine seal is attached to an early thirteenth century indenture of agreement between John, the Prior, and the Convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, of the one part, and Peter, the Rector, and the Brethren of the Hospital, of the other, whereby the latter grant to the former land called *Asseteghe* and thirty-four and a half acres in Thanet. An endorsement shows that the charter is from the Blean series of the Priory muniments (see Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8). It was apparently examined by Francis Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, as were other items in this collection, for they are marked with a distinguishing sign used by him, a cross within a circle (*ibid.*, p. 23 and n.).

The example described by Birch (*op. cit.*, i. no. 2863; followed by *V.C.H. Kent*, ii. 216) is a sulphur cast of the twelfth century seal, which had the same design; but no counter-seal is mentioned. Birch also cites (*ibid.*, no. 2864) a sulphur cast of the fifteenth-century Common Seal, which had an entirely different device and legend. It is apparently a matrix of this later seal which St. John Hope described in 1893 as being in the possession of the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (cf. his account in *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, 2nd Ser., vol. xv, p. 18, with that of Birch); he adds that it "should properly be of the first half of the fourteenth century, but is rudely cut and of doubtful appearance". Cf. also Duncombe

and Battely, *Bibl. Top. Brit.*, i. 400. The seal of the Hospital of St. Thomas is not among those mentioned by Borenius in his *St. Thomas Becket in Art*, pp. 23-24.

5. Walter Burstoke, Abbot of Ford, co. Devon. 1396.

Red wax. Pointed oval. $1\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1\frac{3}{8}''$ when complete. Slightly imperfect at the base, but only a few letters of the legend are affected; at one time broken, it has since been carefully mended by a previous owner. Fine impression of the device; the impression of the legend is less clear, but quite legible.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

The Abbot, with partly embroidered robes, standing in an elaborately carved and canopied niche, having in his right hand a crozier, the crook turned inwards, and in his left, held at waist level, a book. On tabernacle work at each side is a shield of arms: on the dexter, three roundles, two and one (Courtenay), in chief a label of three points; on the sinister, a lion rampant.

SIGILLVM . WALTE[RI . BVRSTO]KE . ABBATIS . DE . FORDE

Note: Attached to a grant, dated 4 May 1396, by William Toterigge and his wife Mabel to Edward Blakforde, John Forde, chaplain, and others, of lands and tenements in Spearhay [in Thorncombe], co. Dorset: *Et quia sigilla nostra pluribus sunt incognita, sigillum Abbatis de Forde presentibus apponi procuravimus.* The Courtenays, whose arms occur on the device, were patrons of the Abbey.

No seal of Ford Abbey, or of any of its Abbots, was known to the editors of Dugdale (see *Monasticon*, v. (1825), p. 377), although some twenty years later Oliver was acquainted with an example of the Common Seal, which he describes and engraves (Oliver, *Monasticon Diœcesis Exoniensis* (1846), p. 341 and first Supplement; see also J. H. Pring, "Memoir of Thomas Chard, D.D., Suffragan Bishop, and Last Abbot of Ford Abbey," ap. *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.*, xviii. (1862), p. 198). No seal of an Abbot of Ford, however, other than the one described above, seems to be anywhere recorded. This item is known to have been offered for sale by a firm of London

booksellers in 1875 (see *Trans. Devonshire Assoc.*, x. 369), after which date all trace of it was lost until it re-appeared in the Rylands. It seems probable that it was at this sale that it was acquired by Mr. Hatton Wood.

6. Thetford Priory, co. Norfolk. 1432.

Dark brown. Pointed oval. c. $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ when complete. Imperfect; the design is almost complete, but only a portion of the legend remains. Fair impression, now much rubbed.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

The Virgin, in a flowing robe, with large nimbus, seated on a carved throne, her feet resting on a pedestal. Seated on her left knee the Child, with nimbus, embraced by her left arm. In the Child's left hand, a book, held against the body; the right hand is raised in benediction. In the Virgin's right hand [a flower]. Background diapered lozengy, a rosette in each space.

[SIGILLVM : PRIORIS : ET : CONVENTVS : MONACH] ORVM : THE[TFO]RD[IE].

Beaded border.

Note : Attached to a grant of 4 May 1432, by Nicholas, the Prior, and the Convent, to John Ballys of Thetford of a parcel of land there: *nos prefati Prior et Conventus sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus.*

Cf. Birch (*op. cit.*, i. nos. 4157-4160) who lists two sulphur casts and two imperfect originals, both bronze-green, of 1467 and 1502. Dugdale (*op. cit.*, v. 148) cites Martin (*History of Thetford*, p. 157), who engraved the seal attached to the Surrender in the Augmentation Office.

7. Abbot and Convent of Melros, co. Roxburgh. 1539.

Brownish-red, impressed on a large mass of uncoloured wax. Pointed oval. $2\frac{5}{8}'' \times 1\frac{5}{8}''$. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

A niche, with canopy of rich tabernacle work, extending from top to base of the seal and projecting at both ends into the space reserved for the legend. Divided into two compartments: in the upper and slightly larger, against a background

of tracery, the Virgin, wearing an open crown and long robe, seated on a bench and having the Child, robed and with nimbus, standing on her right knee, and a book in her left hand, which is resting on her knee; in the lower, under a rounded and masoned arch, the Abbot, kneeling in prayer and looking upwards, his body turned three-quarters to the left, having his crozier, with a single coil, turned outwards, held between his right arm and his body, and a small "w" in the field behind him just above his feet. To the left and right of the central niche are side-niches with tall, crocketed canopies resting on masoned corbels. In the former (to the Virgin's left), St. Paul, a book in his right hand, held against his breast, and a long sword in his left, against his shoulder; in the latter, St. Peter, a key in his right hand and a book, held against his body, in his left. Each Saint, bearded and with a large nimbus, is looking upwards towards the Virgin and Child.

S' . COMUNE : CAPITULI : MONASTERII : DE : MELROS .

Outer border beaded.

Note: Attached to a document of 1 July 1539: *In witnes of ye quhilk thing . . . . . ye commoun' sele of ye cheptour of our said abbay is is to hung* [etc.].

For this seal see Stevenson and Wood, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i. (1940), p. 193, and the references there. They cite two examples of 1422 (one from Laing, *Cat. of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals* (1850), no. 1076, the other, a sulphur cast, from Birch, *op. cit.*, iv. no. 15, 379), one of 1535, and others later in date than the one described above. The small "w" has been variously interpreted as the initial of St. Waltheof (the twelfth-century Abbot), of the Abbot at the time the seal was engraved, or of the artist.

8. Abbot and Convent of Dryburgh, co. Berwick. 1546.

Dark red, impressed deeply on a large mass of dark brown wax. Pointed oval. $2\frac{1}{16}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$. Perfect. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

A full-length figure of the Abbot, front view, standing on a reticulated corbel beneath a trefoiled arch with architectural

canopy. In his left hand a plain crozier with a single coil turned outwards; his right hand is raised in benediction. In the centre of the canopy, which projects into the space reserved for the legend, a half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child on her left knee. Beneath the corbel, at the base of the seal, is a fleur-de-lis, separating the legend, as indicated below. On each side of the Abbot, at waist level, a small figure, apparently an angel, kneeling, clad in flowing draperies and turned towards him, leaning slightly backwards; the one to his left has an arm extended and in the hand a wand or, more probably, a tube (? some musical instrument), the one to his right is playing what is apparently a small harp, held over the head. The remainder of the field is plain.

S . COME . ABBATIS : [fleur-de-lis] ET : 9VETVS : DE : DRIBVRGH; no bar is visible over COME or 9VETVS. Beaded border.

Note: Attached to a document of 21 February 1546: *In witnes of ye quhilk thing . . . . . our common sele of our said abbay is to hunging* [etc.].

Birch's account of this seal (*op. cit.*, iv. no. 15,263), based on a sulphur cast from an indistinct impression of 1582, is imperfect, omitting mention of the two side figures. Stevenson and Wood (*op. cit.*, i. 177), also from a cast, describe these figures simply as monks kneeling in adoration, with no reference to the instruments they are holding, which, as with Birch, were no doubt not clearly visible on their example; they also state that the Abbot is provided with a nimbus, which is not the case in the Hatton Wood seal, and read the last word of the legend as DRIEVCH [*sic*]. It is, however, clearly DRIBVRGH, as one would expect and as given above, by Birch, and by Laing, *op. cit.*, no. 1008; the example described by Laing is, like that in the B.M. Catalogue, of 1582.

9. Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, with Counter-Seal of Garnerius de Neapoli. 1190.

White waxy paste covered with reddish-brown varnish. *c.* 2″ in diameter, when perfect. Imperfect, the edges being

worn (owing to the nature of the material, "chipped" would be an inaccurate term); the device is unaffected. Fine impression, but in places the varnish has flaked off the device and, particularly, the legend.

Pendent from a doubled strip of narrow parchment; the ends embedded in the wax project separately at each side of the seal, not together at the base. (The seal, at least since 1904, has been detached from the charter, but both are kept together.)

O. A suppliant male figure, generally assumed to be the Prior, bare-headed and wearing a long robe, fastened at the waist, kneeling to the left; his hands, held at face height, are clasped in prayer and his head turned, showing almost full face, towards the spectator. Details of the features are indistinguishable owing to flaking. To the left, on a dome-shaped pedestal, a patriarchal cross of roughly the same height as the figure kneeling before it. In the field at the sides of the cross is the following inscription in three lines :—

SAL	[V]E
CRVX	S[C]A
ARBOR	DIGNA

The letters AR and OR of ARBOR and NA of DIGNA are conjoined and there is a bar over SCA. The remainder of the field is plain.

✠ SI[. . . . . I]N . A[NGLI]A.

R. Counter-seal of Garnerius. $1\frac{1}{16}$″ in diameter. Perfect. Fine impression, but now much affected by flaking. Above the seal is a deep indentation caused by the handle or loop.

Head of St. John Baptist, full face and in high relief, filling the device; long hair and beard. Details of the face are indistinguishable owing to flaking.

✠ S' GARN PRIORIS HOSP' IER' IN ANGL', with no spacing and the O and R of PRIORIS conjoined, giving the appearance of a Lombardic M; the bar of the N is almost horizontal, as in H.

Note : Attached to a grant, dated A.D. 1190, by Garnerius de Neapoli, *Prior Fratrum Hospitalis Ierusalimit' in Anglia*, and the Chapter to Turstan de Bakechild' [Bapchild] of land in Kent. This document was formerly in the Surrenden Library and while there was printed in part by Hasted, who also engraved the seal, but with a number of inaccuracies (*Hist. of Kent*, ii. 599). It was presumably acquired by Mr. Hatton Wood at one of the four Surrenden Sales (8 June 1858, 10 July 1861, 4 February 1863 and 13 July 1865, Puttick and Simpson ; it has not been possible to consult these catalogues). He exhibited it to the Society of Antiquaries on 13 February, 1873, but the account printed in the Society's *Proceedings* (2nd Ser., vol. 5, pp. 445-448) contains some errors.

Garnier was Prior of the Order in England from 1185 (possibly 1184) to 1190 and in the latter part of 1190 became Master of the whole Order. An account of his seals, based, however, solely on the examples in the British Museum, will be found in (Sir) E. J. King's *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem* (1932), p. 97 ; this may be supplemented by two valuable articles which draw on lesser-known examples from other sources, namely, " Garnier de Nablous " by J. H. Round (ap. *Archæologia*, vol. 58, 1903), and " Early Charters of the Knights Hospitallers Relating to Much Woolton, near Liverpool ", by Robert Gladstone, jun. (ap. *Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire*, N.S. 18, 1904). At least at the commencement of his period of office Garnier used the same Prior's seal as Ralph de Dive, his predecessor (cf. Harl. Ch. 43 I 38, dated 1185, with Harl. Ch. 44 H 53, dated " before 1185 ", and see Gladstone, pp. 88-89), without a *secretum*. But by 1189 (see the Aston Hall charter in Gladstone, *loc. cit.*), if not before, his charters bear both Prior's seal and *secretum*, as in the Rylands example (cf. also P.R.O. Anc. Deed 6708 ; Round, p. 383). Garnier's successor, Alan, used exactly the same Prior's seal and *secretum* in two charters of 1190, at the beginning of his period of office (B.M. Add. Ch. 7208, Cotton Ch. vii. 5 ; the latter is wrongly dated 1199 by the scribe, an error copied in Birch's *Cat. of B.M. Seals*, i. no. 4528, but corrected by Gladstone, p. 189, n. 87, and Round, p. 388). The use of Garnier's *secretum* by Prior Alan is particularly

interesting for the same design (the head of St. John Baptist) was adopted, either at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth, for the Great Seal of the Priory and remained in use until the Reformation (see King, *op. cit.*, p. 97, and cf. no. 10 below). Gladstone states (*op. cit.*, p. 189, n. 89) that he was acquainted with six impressions of the private seal of Garnerius.

The legend on the obverse (the Prior's seal) of the Rylands example is imperfect, but from seals attached to B.M. Harl. Ch. 43 I 38 and St. Paul's Ch. A 28, no. 291, it has been reconstructed by Gladstone as SIGILL' PRIORIS FRATRVM HOSPITAL' [IERL'] IN ANGLIA, with some ligatures and the ATR of FRATRVM forming a monogram ; for the former charter see *Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the British Museum*, pl. xliii, and King, *op. cit.*, frontispiece, and for the latter, Round, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-390. The reading attempted by Delaville Le Roulx in his *Mélanges Sur l'Ordre de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, pt. vii, p. 3, is incorrect and his account of Garnier's seal in pt. v, pp. 9-10, is based entirely on the examples described by Birch from the British Museum collections.

10. Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, with Counter-Seal of Prior Elias. Temp. Edward I.

Light green wax. $1\frac{1}{2}$″ in diameter. Perfect. Fair impression, now much rubbed ; the main features of the device on the obverse are clear but most of the legend is obliterated.

Pendent from a doubled strip of narrow parchment.

O. Head of St. John Baptist, full face and in high relief, filling the device ; long hair and beard. Details of the face are not clear. On the left of the head is a star, [on the right a crescent].

[. . . . . .] IE[. . . . . .].

In addition to the border enclosing the legend there is an inner border of widely-spaced dots or pellets.

R. Counter-seal. $1\frac{1}{8}$″ in diameter. Good impression, now rather rubbed.

An upright shield of arms : apparently paly of ten (but this description is possibly incomplete, as other details may have been erased).

S' FRIS . ELIE . D[E . . . . .]ME[. . . . . .], with a bar over the I of FRIS.

Beaded border.

Note : Attached to a grant by Elias de Smithtdon (?), *Fratrum Hospitalis Ierosalem' Prior humilis in Anglia*, and the Chapter to Robert le Clerk of all the land which John de Templelonde formerly held in the manor of Holedich', at a yearly rent of three shillings and, on the death of Robert and his heirs, a third part of all their chattels ; the seal is referred to in the sealing clause as *sigillum Capituli nostri.*

No other example of the above counter-seal has so far been found and the Prior himself seems equally elusive. For the use of the device of St. John Baptist's head see the note on the seal of Garnerius de Neapoli (above, no. 9) and for thirteenth and fourteenth century seals of Priors of England bearing shields of arms see King, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108 and pl. xix.

The Library possesses another uncommon heraldic seal of a Prior of the Order, Fr. Robert Botyller, attached to Ryl. Ch. 1617, dated at Clerkenwell, 23 February 1444/1445, as follows : a shield of arms *couché :* a chevron between three combs ; crest, on a helmet and ornamental mantling, a wolf's head couped. The legend is S' : roberti : b[ot]yll' : prioris : ho[s]pi[t]alis : ierlm̄ : in anglia. Botyller's seal is not recorded in Birch, *op. cit.* or King, *op. cit.*

11. The Fraternity of Kalendars, Bristol. 1361.

Dark brown. Pointed oval. *c.* 2″ × 1½″ when perfect. Most of the legend is chipped away, but the design is complete. Good impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Three men's heads, with prominent side-curls, arranged in a triangle ; the two which form the base are a little larger than the third which is immediately above and between them. Background of foliage.

SIGI[. . . . . .].

Note: Attached to an agreement made on 1 May 1361 between Thomas, Rector of the Church of St. Lawrence, Bristol, and William, Prior of the Fraternity, concerning the custody of the evidences of the Cecilia Pollard chantry in that church. For the Pollard chantry see *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, viii. 232-233, and for the Kalendars, "one of the oldest Gilds in England, as well as one of the most remarkable in its objects," see the lengthy note in L. T. Smith, *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar* (Camden Soc., N.S. 5), p. v and the references there.

Another example of this rare seal, but dating from 1466, is recorded as having been owned by Peter Le Neve (d. 1729) and in 1837, when in the possession of John Bowyer Nichols, was described by John Gough Nichols in *Collect. Topographica et Genealogica*, iv. 245. This also, which was in red wax, had an imperfect legend and Gough Nichols notes: "The legend was probably more perfect when Le Neve possessed the deed, as he has written [apparently an endorsement] 'Sigillum Prioratus domus Calendar Brestoll', and, again, 'Sigill. Prioris domus Kalendar Bristoll'." This is not clear. They may be merely Le Neve's own descriptions, or guesses, and could not both be a copy of the legend, which, however, must have had similar wording. The document to which the seal was attached, a release by the Prior and Fraternity of property in Bristol to the Abbey of Glastonbury, 1466, is printed *ibid.*, pp. 244-245; in it the seal is referred to as *sigillum nostrum commune*, as in the Hatton Wood charter. A somewhat earlier example, attached to an indenture of 1333, is referred to briefly by Barrett (*Hist. of the City of Bristol*, p. 450), who suggests that the heads were probably intended for the three persons of the Trinity. But their whole appearance is against this. Gough Nichols' suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 245) that "they were doubtless drawn for three members of the fraternity, as in many other seals of collegiate bodies," seems more probable.

The cast described by Birch (*op. cit.*, i. no. 2727, sulphur cast from an imperfect thirteenth century impression) as the seal of "an uncertain religious house" at Bristol would also seem to be the seal of the Fraternity; it should be added that the

representation on the device is of heads only, not, as Birch states, of busts.

12. St. Peter's Church, Bristol. 1384.

Red wax. *c.* 3″ in diameter when complete. Imperfect, but almost the entire device has survived and probably almost the entire seal; for examination of the edges, which in a number of places are rounded and finished, and a calculation based on wax marks on the parchment strip suggest that the seal may have been without legend. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

A representation of St. Peter's Church, apparently South view, showing (from left to right, facing seal) porch with doorway; broach-spire with two windows in tower; and nave, with two windows, to the right of which is a doorway. Doors and windows are round-headed and roofs reticulated. The background is plain. The whole design is plain and simple, with no more decoration or detail than is indicated here.

Note: Attached to an indenture of 26 April 1384, between Thomas Veys(e)y, Rector of the Church of St. Peter, of the one part, and the Churchwardens and parishioners of the other: *In cuius rei testimonium . . . . . nos predicti procuratores et parochiani sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus.* The counterpart of this document, which is also among the Hatton Wood MSS., bears Veys(e)y's seal.

No other example of this seal has so far been encountered. A single example of a later seal (*c.* 1525), with a legend and entirely different device, is cited by C. E. Boucher in "St. Peter's Church, Bristol" (ap. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, xxxii. p. 281 and pl. facing) as being the only impression of a seal of the church known to him; another example of this later seal, earlier by some sixty-five years than the one he cites, is described in no. 13 below.

Materials relating to St. Peter's, commonly reputed to be the oldest church in Bristol, are scanty, and Boucher notes (*op. cit.*, p. 266) that "towards the closing years of the fourteenth century there seems to be reasonable grounds for believing that the old Norman church was taken down and replaced by

the Perpendicular church that we now have ". The representation described above may be the only extant guide to the appearance of this older church.

13. St. Peter's Church, Bristol. 1460.

Red wax. Pointed oval. $2\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{3}{8}''$. Perfect, save for a little chipping of the legend. Fine impression, with the prominences now slightly rubbed.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

St. Peter, full-length, standing, with halo and long, flowing robe. He bears in front of him, at waist level, a large cruciform church, masoned and with spire; the spire occupies the space on his left between the upper part of his figure and the border. The doors and windows are round-headed. In his right hand, held against his breast, are the keys, which occupy the space between his right shoulder and the border. The field is replenished with foliage.

Sigillum eccl̄ie parochi[alis] sn[c̄ti(?) petri] bristollie:

preceded by a sprig of foliage and with a smaller sprig separating each word.

Beaded borders.

Note: Attached to a lease by the Rector of St. Peter's Church, the Churchwardens and parishioners to William Clerk of Bristol and his wife Joan, 26 September 1460: *In cuius rei testimonium . . . . . nos predicti Willelmus, Rector, Ricardus Webbe et Thomas Dyre, procuratores, et comparochiani ecclesie predicte sigillum commune dicte ecclesie apponi fecimus.*

Apparently only one other example of this seal is known, dated about 1525 and cited by Boucher (*op. cit.*); Boucher's reading of the legend is incorrect, as he has neglected to take into account the fact that his seal is imperfect. For this and an earlier seal of the Church see no. 12 above.

14. Privy Seal of the Mayoralty of York. [15th Cent.].

Red wax. 2" in diameter. Perfect. Fine impression.

On a tongue $6\frac{1}{4}''$ long and, in breadth, narrowing from 1" to, at the end, $\frac{5}{8}''$; the top of the seal is $1\frac{1}{2}''$ from the root. Now unattached.

A shield of the city arms: on a cross five leopards; the field of the shield is diapered with scroll work. Between two ostrich feathers labelled and surmounted by an open coronet of three fleurs-de-lis and two triplets of pearls.

Sigil ✠ lum : * Secretum * Offici * Maioratus * Ciuitat' Eboraci.

Cabled borders.

Note: The example listed by Birch (*op. cit.*, ii. no. 5545), a sulphur cast from a fine impression or matrix, is also dated fifteenth century. Jewitt and St. John Hope (*Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office*, ii. 466-467), who state that this seal is of late fourteenth century date, refer to "four lions of England" on the cross, not five as described above, by Birch (*loc. cit.*), Fox-Davies (*The Book of Public Arms*, p. 287) and Burke (*General Armory*, p. 1150), and shown in the engraving in Drake's *Eboracum* (pl. following p. 380, fig. 3).

15. Mayoralty of Northampton. 1503.

Red wax. $1\frac{5}{8}$″ in diameter. Perfect, save for a little chipping of the legend at the top. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

A triple-towered castle, masoned and embattled; round-headed portal with double doors, open. The central tower, rising from within the parapet, is larger and taller than the two outer ones; in all three is a lancet-shaped window or opening. Supported by two leopards rampant guardant. In the field above, a reticulated pattern.

[S M]AIORITATIS VILLE NORHAMTON[IE].

Beaded border.

Note: This fine seal is attached to a grant of 6 April 1503, made by Robert Buk of London, gentleman, to William Marcholl of Northampton, fuller, Joan his wife, John Wodeward and John Walker, of property in St. Giles' Street, Northampton: *Et quia sigillum meum pluribus est incognitum, ideo Sigillum Officii Maioratus ville Northampton' predicte apponi procuravi in fidem et testimonium.*

With one exception, a sulphur cast, the examples recorded by Birch (*op. cit.*, ii. nos. 5219-5227) are imperfect or

fragmentary. In the account of the town seals in *V.C.H. Northampton* (iii. 22), which is based on Birch, it is stated that "the mayor's official seal appears to have been made early in the fourteenth century, was in use down to the last quarter of the seventeenth century and was probably destroyed when superseded". The account in Jewitt and St. John Hope (*op. cit.*, iii. 217), is not free from error. For the arms of Northampton see *V.C.H.*, iii. 1, and *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, i. (1884), pp. 1-2; the note in the latter, which draws attention to certain varieties of the coat, including different arrangements of the towers, is based in part on evidence from seals among the town deeds. The Mayoralty Seal of Northampton has a striking similarity to that of Bedford, apart from the supporters (see Birch, *op. cit.*, ii. no. 4616, and the engraving in *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., xv. 449).

16. Bailiffs' Office of Colchester, co. Essex. 1546.

Red wax. 2¼″ in diameter. Perfect save for a little chipping, affecting the outer border, but only slightly. Blurred impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

A central hexagonal tower flanked by two smaller, circular towers on each of which is a banner, flying inwards; the upper portion of the central tower and the banners project into the space reserved for the legend. All three towers rise from within an embattled wall in which, at the base of the seal, is a round-headed doorway with the portcullis half-down, flanked by two circular turrets, on each of which is a head. Immediately above the doorway, in a carved and round-headed niche in the central tower, stands St. Helena, the Empress, the patron Saint of Colchester, wearing an open crown and long robe, a book in her right hand and in her left a large cross, almost her own height. Towers and wall are masoned.

Sigillum : Officii : Balliuorum : ville : colcestrie :

Outside the legend is an elaborate border (¼″ wide) of, alternately, fourteen cinquefoil flowers and vesical frames, each enclosing a fleur-de-lis.

Note : Attached to a deposition made before Robert Leche and Thomas Reve, bailiffs, on 7 June 1546 : *In witnesse wherof to these presentes the seale of our office of Bailiffes of the towne of Colchester* [etc.].

The example described by Birch (*op. cit.*, ii. no. 4830) is a sulphur cast from the matrix (15th cent.). See also Jewitt and St. John Hope, *op. cit.*, i. 198 and cf. the description of the Common Seal in Gale Pedrick, *Borough Seals of the Gothic Period*, pp. 55-58 and pl. xxxviii.

17. Common Seal of Kingston-upon-Thames, co. Surrey. 1609.

Red wax. 2″ in diameter. Perfect. Fair impression, now somewhat rubbed ; in one place the wax overlaps the space reserved for the legend.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

A shield of the arms of Kingston-upon-Thames : three salmon swimming in pale ; at the base a capital letter, either K or R (see below). Between three leopards rampant, within a gothic quatrefoil, cusped and pointed and with curved spandrils.

* S' COMVNITATIS : VILLE DE KINGGESTON : [SV]PER : TA[MIC]IAM *

Note : Attached to a bargain and sale made 15 December 1609 : *In witnesse wherof . . . . . the said baylyffes and freemen have caused the Common Seal of the sayd towne to be fixed.*

The example described in Birch (*op. cit.*, ii. no. 5037) is a sulphur cast from the matrix. There appears to be some doubt about the initial letter at the base. Birch refers to it as a K (cf. Burke, *General Armory*, p. 567) but Jewitt and St. John Hope (*op. cit.*, ii. 354) and Fox-Davies, who also cites the Seal of Surrey County Council on which the arms of Kingston-upon-Thames occur (see his *Book of Public Arms*, pp. 416, 762), state that it is an R. Cf. the engraving in Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* (7th edit.), ii. 682.

18. Second Mayoralty Seal of Coventry. 1618.

Light brown wax. 2″ in diameter. Perfect. Fine impression of the device ; the last word of the legend is blurred.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

On a mount replenished with foliage and between two trees which project into the space reserved for the legend at the top, an elephant walking to the left and having on its back a triple-towered castle on which is a banner bearing what has been variously interpreted as (*a*) three scimitars in fess, handles downward (Birch), or (*b*) three ostrich feathers (Jewitt and St. John Hope).

Sigillum ⁂ Maioratus ⁂ Ciuitatis ⁂ [Couentrie].

Note : Attached to a bargain and sale made by the Mayor, Bailiffs and Commonalty to John Saunders of Coventry, dated 4 February 1617/1618 : *In cuius rei . . . . . testimonium huic presenti scripto nos prefati Maior* [*etc.*] *Sigillum Communem civitatis predicti apposuimus.*

The example catalogued by Birch (*op. cit.*, ii. no. 4847), injured by pressure and slipped, is also attached to a document dated 1618. Jewitt and St. John Hope (*op. cit.*, ii. 390) differ from him in stating that the banner is charged with three ostrich feathers, adding, " this seal, with its ' banner of peace ' of Edward, Prince of Wales, probably dates from his charter of 1363, granting the town to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, with leave to enclose it with a wall." It is not clear from the Hatton Wood seal whether the representation is of three scimitars or three ostrich feathers, but if the latter is the case the feathers are labelled. Jewitt and St. John Hope also read ' Maioritatis ' in the legend ; in the example described above the word is clearly ' Maioratus ', as stated by Birch. See also the engraving in Lewis, *op. cit.*, i. 705.

PATRIC CUMIN, 1823-1890.

By W. H. G. ARMYTAGE,
LECTURER IN EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD.

FROM its creation in 1839 to its transformation in 1899, the Education Department had five secretaries. The first—Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (1839-1849) has received his due both from his contemporaries and ours. The second and third, Lingen (1849-1869) and Sandford (1870-1884) both received peerages and further promotion. The last—Kekewich (1849-1902), a knighthood and the pleasure of reviewing his predecessor's work and his own in print.

That predecessor—the fourth secretary, Patric Cumin (1884-1890), received no title. He never enjoyed retirement, much less the leisure to write. He died in harness, and his name, unrelieved even by a dispassionate judgement in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has remained as a symbol of all that was restrictive and therefore bad in the Education Department of the eighteen-eighties.

This prejudiced view originated with G. A. Christian [1] and was adopted by Prof. Frank Smith [2] and Prof. T. Raymond.[3] It gives the impression that Cumin was a typical bureaucrat—and was "not disposed to alter things that were". This is by no means the case. Let us examine the man's career in perspective and evaluate his real contribution to the English Educational System.

His origins were conventional. He trod the same academic path as Sandford, his predecessor in office. Son of a Glasgow professor, he passed through Shrewsbury, Glasgow University, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he was a Snell exhibitioner in 1841, B.A. in 1845 and M.A. in 1850. Four years later he published a manual of civil law—a commentary and translation

[1] *English Education from Within*, 1922, pp. 44-45.
[2] *A History of English Elementary Education*, p. 313.
[3] *A History of the Education of Young Children*, 1936, p. 252.

of the works of Justinian which reached a second edition in twelve months. In 1855 he was called to the bar at the Inner Temple.

In 1859 he was appointed by the Newcastle Commission to make an inquiry into English Charities which were applied to or applicable to education, with particular reference to the south-west of England. It was to be a favourite Radical theme —partly because it meant an attack on privilege, and partly because it would lessen the strain on the rates. One of Cumin's questions to a Devonport Dockyard apprentice asking for a definition of an "endowed school" called forth from Prof. Adamson [1] the acid comment that "it furnished a rough test of Mr. Cumin's own intelligence". His report on "The Popular Education of the Bristol and Plymouth Districts" was published in 1861. His estimate of the general condition of English education at that time is that one-eighth of the population was at school, and of those one-quarter were efficiently educated. The mass of schools were "mere nurseries". A year later he began to edit *The London Review*. In 1867 he became secretary to the Scotch Education Commission with whom he obtained an insight into the working of an educational system far in advance of English efforts being made at that time to formulate one.

In 1868 came his first great stroke of good fortune. W. E. Forster, borne in on the tide of a Liberal majority to the Vice-Presidency of the Council, was charged with the duty of bringing in a Bill to establish an English "system". He selected Cumin as his private secretary. The appointment raised a storm of protest,[2] violating as it did the laws of seniority, and a memorial deprecating it was circulated. To our eyes, it bears a strange resemblance to a much later appointment of Robert Morant to a more important post. As private secretary, Cumin had to cope with the endless deputations from the National Educational League and the National Educational Union, and Forster must have kept him very busy in the ferment preceding and during the passing of the Education Bill in 1870.

[1] *English Education*, p. 218.

[2] Kekewich, *The Board of Education and After*, p. 19.

After the Bill became law, Cumin received his reward in being appointed assistant secretary to the Education Department. He was charged with dealing with legal questions arising from the Act. He held the post of assistant secretary from 16th August, 1870, to 15th May, 1884. During that time he saw the Board School system take root and grow. As a knowledgeable and responsible contemporary said of him, "His support of Board Schools and School Boards was uncompromising", and he "often strained the law in their favour". We must consider that the 1870 Act itself was imperfectly understood by the politicians [1] much less by the districts charged with the permissive obligation to erect School Boards,[2] and that even in 1876 there was a strong party in the country against the principle of School Boards at all.

He was very antipathetic towards the "private venture" schools, kept for the purpose of evading the half-time clauses of the Factory Acts. His remarks before the Commission set up in response to A. J. Mundella's demand in 1874, to inquire into the administration of the Factory Acts, provided ammunition for Radical attacks on government policy.[3]

"One inconvenience which has arisen is the most inconvenient of all things, a conflict between the factory inspector and our inspector. The factory inspector sometimes insists that a school is efficient and we say it is not. Then we order a School Board on the ground of the deficiency, and after the School Board is up, the children continue to go to what we call an inefficient school, but what the inspector of factories calls an efficient school. Then the ratepayers are compelled to build a school and they say, 'It is very hard we are made to build a school because you say the school is inefficient, and the factory inspector says it is efficient, so our school is no use'." [4]

When asked whether he favoured the extension of the Factory Acts to all factories he replied, "Yes—but whenever we ask about it, we are told that nothing but the grossest inefficiency can authorise a factory inspector to declare a school inefficient."

[1] Kekewich, *op. cit.* [2] Disraeli and Clause 25.
[3] Hansard, 19th June, 1876.
[4] Report of Factory Commission, 1874, Q. 1631, Q. 1634.

It was evidence of this character which not only supplied material for Radical attacks, but ensured the success of their point of view in the Commission's report, which resulted in the 1874 Factory Act.

When the Radical, Mundella, became Vice-President of the Council in 1880 and secured universal, direct compulsory attendance at school by ordering that " It shall be the duty of the local authorities of every school district which has not made byelaws . . . to do so forthwith ", the last word was made operative by Cumin. The Bill became law on 26th August, 1880, and two days later circulars signed by Cumin went out to all local authorities who had not submitted byelaws for approval. A short table gives an idea of the success of this brisk administration.[1]

	School Boards.		*School Attendance Committee.*	
Year ended 1st April.	*No. of Boards.*	*Population.*	*Number.*	*Population.*
1879	1,243	12,395,550	347	3,083,609
1880	1,421	12,605,453	398	3,665,705
1881	2,051	13,318,492	761	9,393,774

It probably explains the expression Mr. Russell noticed on his face in 1881.

Cumin worked in 1882 on the small code committee which the Vice-President set up to institute greater flexibility in the awarding of grants. Sandford, the secretary, J. Sykes, one of Cumin's colleagues as an assistant secretary, Matthew Arnold, Joshua Fitch, Warburton, and Sharpe, with other members, and Mundella, Vice-President of the Council, as chairman. It was the Vice-President's preference for the conference method he had found so successful in industry twenty-two years before which gave Christian his jaundiced view, since Mundella retained the " code committee " as a consultative body. Being

[1] Report of Committee of Council, 1881, p. xxviii.

appreciative, Mundella often referred to the " ability and zeal " of the permanent officials and the assistance they rendered in getting out the code.[1]

The numerous reforms and activity of Mundella's vice-presidency led to Sandford leaving the Education Department in 1884, and Mundella selected Cumin to fill his place, not without difficulty. The selection of a secretary was a matter for the Lord-President of the Council (Lord Carlingford) who had intended to appoint a well known and able inspector to the vacancy. When Mundella heard that such an appointment was contemplated, he insisted that Cumin should be chosen, and in the end was said to have written his resignation and threatened to send it in to Gladstone. Then the Lord-President gave way and Cumin was chosen.[2]

From 15th May, 1884, till his death in 1890 Cumin was Secretary of the Education Department. Twice promoted by Radical vice-presidents, he found himself secretary a year later to a conservative vice-president who had not the enthusiasm of Forster or Mundella. Cumin's liberalism and anti-denominationalism were no secret in the Department.

In these last six years there were two spheres in which his influence was most felt. The first was in the administrative organisation of the inspectorate, the second, his outspoken and liberal views before the Cross Commission, 1886-1887.

He put an end to the habits of certain chief inspectors hibernating at the Athenæum, miles from the scenes of their districts and complaisant as to the system of examination, since they never experienced them but left them to their assistants. Indeed, the tightening up of the inspectorate may have led to a more positive expression of their views on the " code committee ". The county was divided up into divisions, each with a chief inspector in charge. Instead of each inspector sending in a report upon his district, the chief inspectors of five out of the ten divisions drew up annual reports with the assistance of the suffragans in their divisions. These gave a more complete account of the state of education throughout the country, and

[1] Hansard, 8th August, 1881.

[2] Kekewich, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

at the same time gave a better basis for any inferences which might be shown as to its progress.[1]

His evidence before the Cross Commission shows him alive and well abreast of contemporary opinions. He put forward the suggestion that the local colleges founded in the previous five years could be used as day training colleges, available to both sexes, admitting pupils after eighteen, with practical schools and lectures on method, and proposed how their expenses could be met and grants awarded.[2] His scheme would, he claimed, reduce the number of pupil teachers, replacing them by day-training college students, attract a higher class to the profession besides allowing many poorer students to go to college. He argued that it would raise the standard of the teaching profession.

He was by no means uncritical of payment by results, considering that system had improved. He complained that Matthew Arnold [3] had "ignored the whole principle of the administration of the code". It was not in 1886 what it had been under Lingen, when it was "too severe". "The grant is not appraised on so many subjects, it is assessed on the average attendance and the school generally." [4]

But he saw and appreciated the coming developments. He favoured block grants to county boards,[5] and expressed his warm approval of the proposal to set up county authorities for educational purposes. He saw that they would get rid of the School Board elections and control both denominational and undenominational school alike. The grant of "whisky-money" in the year of his death did not go as far as he proposed.

He died in harness. A storm of controversies in which he had precipitated the Department "reached their limit at the time of his death".[6] His successor was appointed on the express understanding he would be more compromising than Cumin, whose golden rule had been never to admit he was

[1] Report of Committee of Council, 1884-1885, p. xxxix.
[2] Cross Commission, Q. 59599-59610, Q. 59718-59723.
[3] *Op. cit.*, Q. 59599-59610.
[4] *Op. cit.*, Q. 59437-59439.
[5] *Op. cit.*, Q. 59118.
[6] Kekewich, p. 117.

wrong. Perhaps his very efficiency and precise legal mind (he told the Cross Commission that only a legal training was suitable for a secretary of the Education Department), coupled with his dour Scotch fads, made him unpopular amongst the very people he was doing his best to benefit.

FRANÇOIS VILLON: A NOTE ON HIS MANUSCRIPTS.

By E. F. CHANEY, M.A.
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FOR about eighty years from 1460 Villon's poems enjoyed great popularity. For the first forty years of this period there were a large number of Villon manuscripts in existence of which only seven have survived. Between 1489 and 1542 there were over thirty printed editions of his work of which copies have survived. We might reasonably surmise that there were others which left no survivor. When we attempt to construct a critical edition we use these seven manuscripts and two early printed editions. Since Longnon's notable 1892 edition these nine sources have been known to scholars by the letters A, B, C, F, I, J, P, R, V. Of these the principal sources are A, C, F, I because they contain most of the poet's known work while the subsidiary sources B, J, P, R, V contain only small portions of it.

The four major manuscripts all belong to the period 1480-1500. We will consider them in detail :—

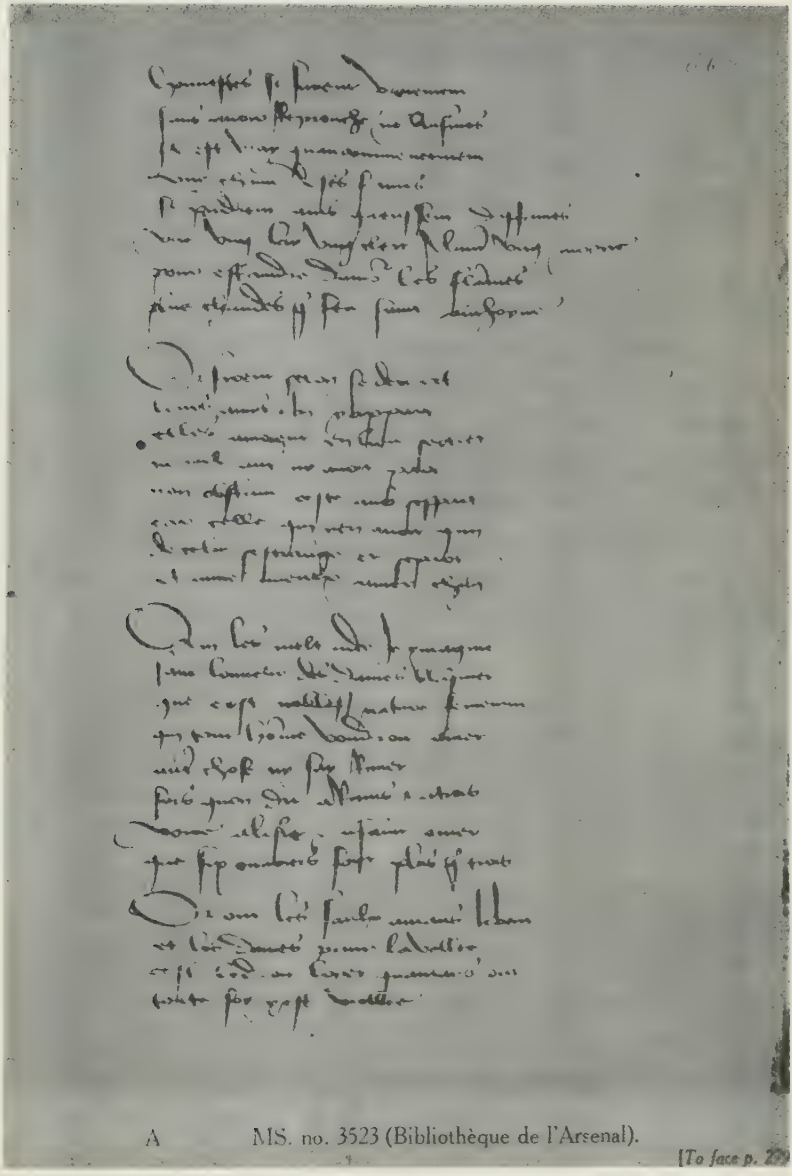
A (Arsenal) is MS. 3523 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal). Three poems of Villon appear towards the end of a large MS. volume of 818 pages. These are :

Le Testament, pp. 647-718.
Ballade de Fortune, pp. 719-720.
Le Lais François Villon, pp. 721-733.

Only the last bears a title. In the Testament, as a rule, there are three eight-lined stanzas and four lines of the next to a page.

Le Lais is by a better scribe who rigidly copies three stanzas to a page. The page of this MS. which we have reproduced is numbered 667. This is what it says (the italicised words represent abbreviations in the original) :

Honnestes si furent vraiement
sans avoir reprouche ne blasmes



A MS. no. 3523 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal).

[To face p. 27

il est vray quaucommencement
une *chascune* de ses fames
si *prindrent* ains queussent diffames
une ung lay ung clerc *et lautre* ung moyne
pour estaindre *damours* les *flammes*
plus chaudes *que* feu saint anthoyne

Or firent selon se decrect
leurs amys *et bien* y appart
elles amoient en lieu seccret
ne nul *autre* ny avoit part
non obstant ceste *amour* sespart
car celle qui nen avoit qun
de celui sestrange et separt
et aime mieulx amer *chascun*

Qui les melt adce je ymagine
sans lonneur des dames blasmer
que cest nature femenine
qui tout *homme* voudroit amer
autre chose ny say rimer
fors quon dit a rains *et* atrois
voire alisle *et* a saint omer
que six ouvriers font plus *que* trois

Or ont les faulx amans le bont
et les dames print la vollee
cest ledroit loyer quamans ont
toute foy yest viollee.

In these twenty-eight lines there are over thirty words differing from the carefully edited version given by the Longnon-Foulet edition of 1932. This fact will give some idea of the difficulties which editors encounter !

Except for about six words this manuscript is easy to read. I give here a list of those parts which do not appear in this MS. :

TESTAMENT.	Ballade (Car ou soit ly sains apostolles)	ll. 385-412
	Stanza 46 (Aussi ces povres fameletes)	ll. 445-452
	Stanza 96 (Par fault d'ung uys j'y perdis)	ll. 998-1005
	Stanza 106 (Item et au Prince des Sotz)	ll. 1078-1085
	Envoi of Ballade (Sur mol duvet assis)	ll. 1503-1506
	Ballade (Car ou soies porteur de bulles)	ll. 1692-1719
POÉSIES DIVERSES	All missing except no. 12 (Fortune fus par clers).	
LE LAIS	Stanza 22 (Item au Chevalier du Guet)	ll. 169-176
	Stanza 23 (Item a Perrenet Marchant)	ll. 177-184

In the scribe's orthography we find :—

(*a*) o for ou : lop, cop, coster, morir, mostier, hostilz, cloz (= clous), acostumer, oblier, englotir.
(*b*) ou for o : aprouicher, pouvre, moutant (= m'ôtant), honnourer.
(*c*) l for ll : balade, molir, tailees.
(*d*) ll for l : foller, polly, jolly, soulliers, semellees, principallement.
(*e*) y for i : hayr, ravy, dy, cy, sy, ayent, boyre, moys, yra.
(*f*) th for t : Gonthier, brethes, epithaphe, Cothart, thumbeau.
(*g*) qu for c : quourust, quoquemart.
(*h*) eux for eurs : escumeux, ribleux, mouveux.
(*i*) ses for ces : juc for jusque : z as a plural sign : s for z in 2nd person plural of verbs.

A complete microfilm of Villon's work in this MS. is in the Manchester University Library.

C (Coislin) is MS. 20041 (Bibliothèque Nationale). This MS. consists of 153 leaves. Villon's work begins at

107 vo. (Freres humains qui apres nous vivez).
108 ro. Le petit testament Villon.
112 vo. Sensuit lappel dudit Villon (Que dictes vous de mon appel/Garnier).
113 ro. Le Testament villon (a later hand has written grãt over the T of Testament).
152 ro. Espitre (!) (Aiez pictie aiez pictie de moy).
152 vo. Probleme (Fortune fuz par clercs jadiz nommee).
153 vo. Explicit le testament maistre francoys villon.

The manuscript once belonged to the marquis de Coislin. Villon's work is in three different hands. The first wrote only 107 vo., the second 108 ro. to 113 vo. and both sides of leaf 130, the third all the rest. It is the best written and the most complete of the Villon manuscripts. I consider it to be our best source.

The following do not appear in this MS. :—

Le petit testament.	Stanza 4 (Et se j'ay prins en ma faveur).
	Stanza 5 (Le regart de celle m'a prins).
	Stanza 6 (Pour obvier a ces dangiers).
	Stanza 7 (Combien que le depart me soit).
	Stanza 8 (Et puis que departir me fault).
	Stanza 9 (Premierement ou nom du pere).
	Stanza 36 (Ce faisant je m'entroublié).
	Stanza 37 (Et mesmement l'estimative).
	Stanza 38 (Dont le sensitif s'esveilla).
	Stanza 39 (Puis que mon sens fut a repos).
Le testament.	Stanza 39 (Je congnois que povres et riches).

Poésies diverses.

No. 1 (Hommes faillis bersaudez de raison).
No. 2 (Tant grate chievre que mal gist).
No. 3 (Je congnois bien mouches en let).
No. 4 (Il n'est soing que quant on a fain).
No. 5 (Rencontré soit de bestes feu getans).
No. 6 (Jenin l'avenu).
No. 7 (Je meurs de seuf auprès de la fontaine).
No. 8 (O louee concepcion).
No. 10 (Le mien seigneur et prince redoubté).
No. 11 (Qu'est ce que j'oy ? Ce suis je ! Qui ? Ton cuer).
No. 13 (Je suis François dont il me poise).
No. 15 (Tous mes cinq sens : yeulx, oreilles et bouche).

From this it will be seen that C lacks a quarter of ' Le petit testament ' and three-quarters of the ' Poésies diverses ' but in the whole of the 'Grant testament', which consists of 2023 lines, only one stanza of eight lines is missing. The completeness of this portion of the work makes C the chief authority for the ' Grant Testament '.

Manuscripts B and C have been photographed and published as ' Deux Manuscrits de François Villon ', by A. Jeanroy and E. Droz—Librairie E. Droz, Paris, 1932.

F (Fauchet) is MS. 53 of the Royal Library, Stockholm. Like A this is an anthology and consists of 272 leaves. Villon's work occupies about two-thirds of the first 70 of these.

2 vo. Ballade (Quoy que on tient belles langagieres).
3 vo. Ballade (Il nest soing que quant on a fain).
21 ro. Ballade (Se jayme et sers ma dame de bon het).
22 vo. Ballade (En reagal en arcenic rochier).
24 ro. Ballade (Tant grate chievre que mau gist).
25 ro. Ballade en jargon (En parouart la grant masse gaudye).
25 vo. Ballade en jargon (Vous qui tenez voz terres et voz fiefz).
26 ro. Ballade en jargon (Ung gier coys de la vergne cygault).
26 vo. Ballade en jargon (Brouez benards eschecquez a la saulve).
27 ro. Ballade en jargon (Se devers quay par ung temps divernois).
29 ro. Le premier testament maistre francois villon.
34 ro. La complainte villon a son cuer (Quest ce que joy).
35 ro. Lepitaphe villon (Freres humains qui apres nous vivez).
35 vo. La louenge que feist villon a la court quant fu dit que il ne mourroit point et puis req . . . trois jours de relache (Tous mes cinq cens yeulx oreilles et bouche).
36 ro. La question que feist villon au clerc du guichet (Que vous semble de mon appel/garnier).

37 ro. Le testament second de maistre francois villon.
62 vo. Quatrain (Je suis francois dont il me poise).
70 ro. (Je congnois bien mouches en let).

This MS. contains 39 of the 40 stanzas which make up the 'Petit Testament' and so becomes the principal source of this part of Villon's work. Stanza 29 (Item et jadjoings a la crosse) is missing and the others appear in this order: 1-12, 16, 13-15, 17-21, 24, 27, 28, 25, 26, 22, 31, 32, 34, 33, 23, 30, 35-40.

On the other hand the "Grand Testament" is an uneven piece of work. Except for the second and third stanzas of the 'Double Ballade' (ll. 633-648) and stanza 97 (ll. 1006-1013) the manuscript gives us almost a complete version down to l. 1413. Thereafter the work is full of gaps as the following stanzas are lacking: 141, 146-150, 153, 154, 160-166, 170, 173-176, 179, 180, as well as two whole stanzas of 'Franc Gontier' (ll. 1483-1506); the 'chanson'—Au retour de dure prison (ll. 1784-1795) and the two ballads which end the 'Grand Testament' (ll. 1968-2023). I can think of no explanation for these gaps except that the scribe was anxious to finish his task. That he was not very careful is, I think, proved by the fact that in the first half of the 'Grand Testament' there are seven cases of stanzas being deprived of a line each.

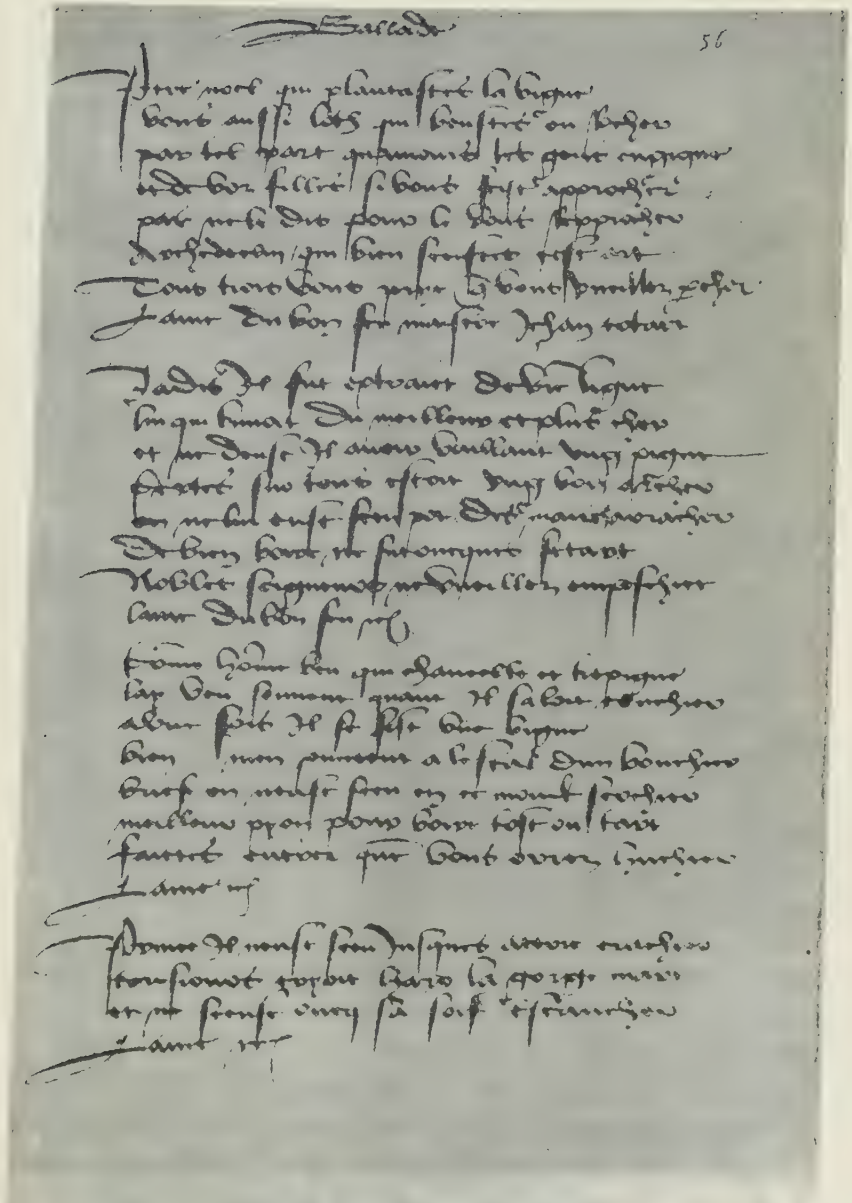
It may be that F is the oldest Villon manuscript that we have. It is exceedingly valuable for the smaller testament and throughout it often provides an acceptable reading when other MSS. are at fault.

A facsimile called 'Manuscrit LIII de Stockholm' with an introduction by Marcel Schwob was published by Honoré Champion in 1905. As only a hundred copies were printed it is a rarity to-day. A page by page transcription was issued by Blackwell in 1943.

The MS. page reproduced here contains the famous ballad of that hardened toper Jehan Cotart. This is what it says:

BALLADE.

Pere noel qui plantastes la vigne
vous aussi loth qui beustes ou rocher
par tel part quamours les gens engigne
et de voz filles si vous feist approcher



F MS. no. 53 (Royal Library, Stockholm).

[To face p. 283

pas ne le dis pour le vous repprocher
archedeclin qui bien sceustes cest art
tous trois vous prye *que* vous vueillez *percher*
lame du bon feu maistre jehan cotart

Jadis il fut extraict de *vostre* ligne
lui qui buvoit du meilleur et plus cher
et ne deust il avoir vaillant ung pigne
certes sur tous estoit ung bon archer
on ne lui eust sceu pot des mains arracher
de bien boire ne fut oncques fetart
nobles seigneurs ne vueillez empeschier
lame du bon feu *etc.*

Comme homme beu qui chancelle et trepigne
lay veu souvent quant il saloit couchier
a une fois il se fist une bigne
bien men souvient a lestal dun bouchier
brief on neust sceu en ce *monde* serchier
meilleur pyon pour boire tost ou tart
faictes entrer *quant* vous orrez huchier
lame, *etc.*

Prince il neust sceu jusques a terre crachier
tousiours cryoit haro la gorge mart
et ne sceust oncq sa soif estanchier
lame *etc.*

(The italics again represent MS. abbreviations.)

F once belonged to the bibliophile, Claude Fauchet (1530-1601), who was 'Président de la Cour des Monnaies'. From Fauchet it passed to Pétau and thence in 1650 to Queen Christine of Sweden. Although the Queen left all her manuscripts to the Pope, this one remained in Stockholm where it is to-day.

I (Imprimé) is the oldest extant printed volume of Villon's work. Produced by Pierre Levet in 1489. As the colophon says it was 'Imprime a paris Lan mil CCCC quatre vings et neuf'. This is a handsome book containing about 25 lines to the page. There are no stops except an occasional colon and full stop which nearly always occur in the body of the line. There are a number of misprints, re-written lines and substituted words which occasionally remove all meaning from a stanza. Quite a number of lines contain nine syllables and some only

seven. There are ten woodcuts; one representing Villon appears five times whilst the same figure of a woman represents La Grosse Margot, La beaulté d'amours and La Belle Heaulmiere! There is also the figure of a bishop. The only noteworthy picture is the delightfully crude one showing three men hanging on a gallows. Two have short shirts on while the centre one is naked. They are such figures as very young children draw. This is what the book contains:

1. Cy comence le grant codicille et testament maistre francois villon. Then follows the 'Grand Testament' with *explicit* at the end.
2. Cause dappel dudit villon (Que vous semble de mon appel).
3. Le rondeau que feist ledit villon quant il fut jugie (Je suis francois dont ce me poise).
4. Epitaphe dudit villon (Freres humains qui apres nous vives).
5. Le debat du cueur et du corps dudit villon (Qui est ce que joy).
6. La requeste que bailla ledit villon a messeigneurs de parlement (Tous mes cinq sens).
7. La requeste que ledit villon bailla a monseigneur de bourbon (Le mien seigneur et prince redoubte).
8. Autre ballade (Tant grate chevre que mal gist).
9. Autre ballade (Je congnois bien mouches en laict).
10. Le jargon et jobellin dudit villon (6 ballads):
    - (*a*) A parouart la grant mathegaudie.
    - (*b*) Coquillars enarvans a ruel.
    - (*c*) Spelicans/Qui en tous temps.
    - (*d*) Saupicquez fronans des gours arquez.
    - (*e*) Joncheurs jonchans en joncherie.
    - (*f*) Contres de la gaudisserie.

    La fin du grant testament. du codicille: du jargon/et des ballades.
11. Sensuit le petit testament maistre francois villon (29 stanzas):

    Cy finist le grant testament
    maistre francois villon. Son
    codicille ses ballades et jargon
    Et le petit testament. Impri
    me a paris Lan mil CCCC qua
    tre vings et neuf.

From the 'Grand Testament' are missing stanzas 97, 146, 165, the chanson 'Au retour', 167 and the final lines 2004-2023.

In the 'Petit Testament' stanzas 4-9, 23 and 36-39 are wanting. The 29 stanzas are arranged thus: 1-3, 10-12, 21, 13-20, 22, 24-35, 40. The 1489 edition was reproduced (500 copies) by 'Editions des quatre Chemins', Paris, 1924.

We now have to consider the minor sources which consist of four MS. and one printed book containing only small portions of Villon's work. The first is known as

B is MS. 1660 (Bibliothèque Nationale). This manuscript contains eighteen pieces—the second of which bears the date 1464. No. 18 beginning at page 236 ro. is the 'Petit Testament'. It has four stanzas to a page and ends on page 240 vo. At the top of page 236 ro. we read the title 'Le testament de maistre francois villon' and then follow 39 stanzas. At the end 'Cy fine le testament villon'. The missing stanza is no. 23 (Item a Perrenet Marchant). The 39 are arranged thus: 1-11, 13-15, 12, 16-18, 22, 19-21, 24-40. The whole is written in a small but clear handwriting. Bijvanck thought the scribe was careless but many people to-day consider it to be quite a good manuscript. It has considerable value because of its completeness and because of its legibility.

Longnon, noticing that this MS. is called 'Le testament', suggests that it might be dated round about 1460 before the longer testament was written. The date 1464 in the second piece would seem to preclude this. The probable date of the MS. is *c.* 1480 but it is quite possible that it was copied from a MS. which was written about 1460. Villon himself tells us (ll. 753-760) that in 1456 he wrote 'certains laiz . . . qu'aucuns sans mon consentement voulurent nommer Testament'. From which it would appear that at one time his smaller poem was entitled 'Testament' without qualification.

This MS. was, together with C, published by Droz, Paris, 1932.

J (Jardin de Plaisance) is a printed anthology published by Antoine Vérard at Paris in 1501. It contains certainly nine, and possibly ten, of Villon's poems. The words 'Balade' or more frequently 'Autre balade' appear at the head of each poem except one, which is called 'Rondel'. There are two columns on a page.

CVII vo. Que dictes vous de mon appel.
CVIII ro. Freres humains qui apres nous vivez.
„ Quest ce que joy? ce suis je/qui? ton cueur.

CVIII vo.	Tous mes cinq sens/yeulx oreilles et bouche
,,	Tant grate chieure que mal gist.
CIX ro.	Jenin lanemy.
,,	En reagal/en arcenic rocher.
,,	Se jayme et sers la belle de bon hait.
CIX vo.	Je congnois bien mousches en laict.
CC vo.	Rencontre soit des bestes feu gectans.

All the above except the rondel ' Jenin lanemy ' are known from other sources to be Villon's work. The rondel is ascribed to him because it occurs after three of his undoubted ballads and immediately before three others. It is of no significance but as a curiosity I give it in full :

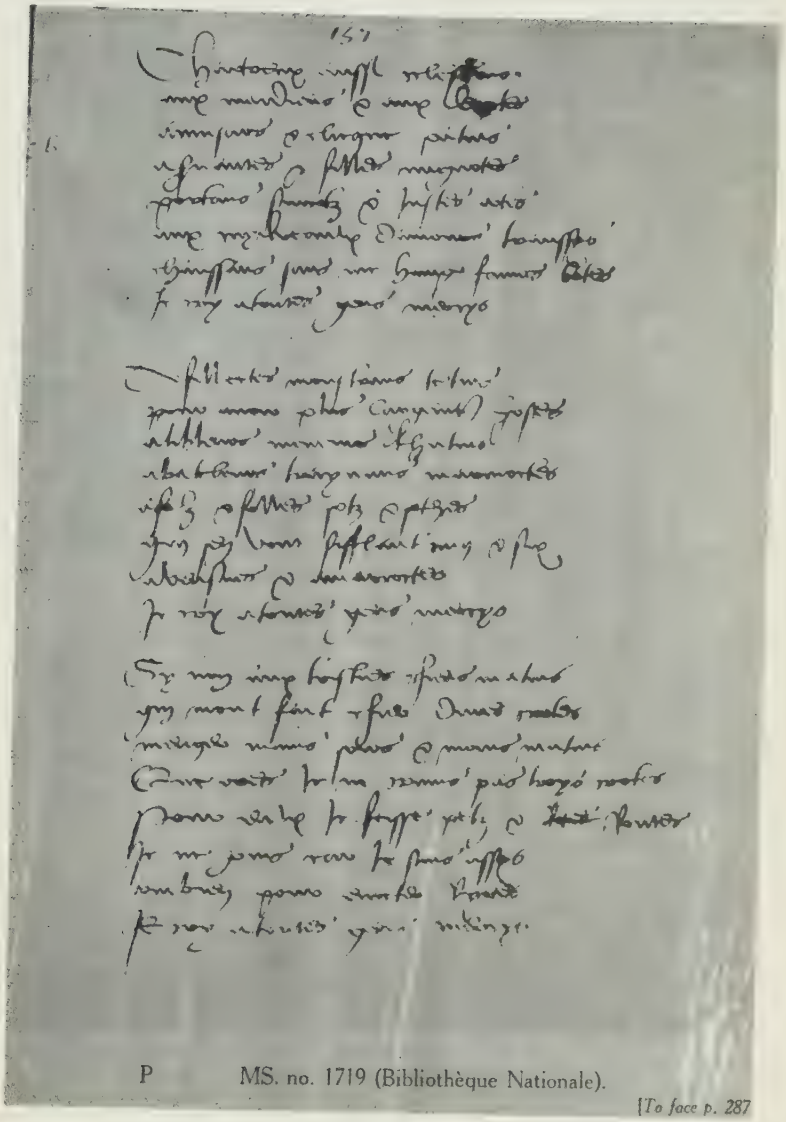
Jenin lanemy
Vaten aux estuues
Et toy la venu
Jenin etc.

Si te laue nud
Et te baigne es cuues
Jenin etc.

A facsimile reproduction of ' Le Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rethorique ' appeared in 1910 as one of the publications of the ' Société des Anciens Textes Français '. A microfilm of the Villon pages is in the University Library.

P is MS. 1719 (Bibliothèque Nationale). This manuscript of 182 leaves contains a wide variety of poems, many extremely licentious. They were all catalogued by Marcel Schwob in ' Le Parnasse Satyrique ' (1905), pages 23 to 50. Towards the end of the MS. appear fifteen of Villon's poems :

151 vo.	En reagal en archenic rochier.
152 vo.	Pere noe qui plantastes la vigne.
153 ro.	Dictes moy ou ne en quel pays.
153 vo.	Qui plus est le tiers calixte.
154 ro.	Le myen seigneur et prince redoubte.
155 ro.	Se jayme et sers la belle de bon hait.
155 vo.	Tant grate chievre que mal gist.
156 ro.	Je congnois bien mouches en lait.
157 ro.	Chartreux aussi celestins.
157 vo.	Que vous semble de mon appel.
158 ro.	Freres humains qui apres nous vyves.
159 ro.	Qui est ce que joy ce suis je qui ton ceur.



P MS. no. 1719 (Bibliothèque Nationale).

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159 vo. Sur mol duvet assys ung gros chanoyne
161 ro. Fortune fus par clers jadis nommee.
161 vo. Tous mes cinq cens yeulx orelle et bouche.

On 160 vo. is a ballad 'Je vy le temps que ayme jestoie' which Bijvanck wanted to ascribe to Villon because of its position among his undoubted writings. Longnon rightly rejects it on account of its 'envoi':

Rossignol du boys promptement
alles porter ceste ballade
dictes que scay bien comment
on mayme mieulx sain que mallade.

He finds it difficult to imagine Villon choosing a nightingale to bear his ballad. The scribe (or some subsequent reader) had his doubts because he drew a long line in the margin covering 25 of the 28 lines.

Many of the leaves of this MS. show the ravages of time round the edges but very nearly everything written can still be read. The scribe probably wrote fast and his writing is not always easy to read. The specimen page given is 157 ro. Here is the transcription with MS. abbreviations in italics:

Chartreux aussi celestins
aux mendiens *et* aux devotes
amusars *et* clicque patins
a *servantes et* filles mignotes
portans surcotz *et* justes cotes
aux cuydereaulx damours transsys
chaussans sans me haing fauves botes
je cry a toutes gens mercys.

A fillettes monstrans tetins
pour avoir plus *largement* hostes
alibleurs meneurs de hutins
abateleurs traynans marmottes
afolz *et* folles sotz *et* sothes
qui sen vont sifflant cinq *et* six
a veusves *et* amariottes (? marrottes)
je cry a toutes gens mercys.

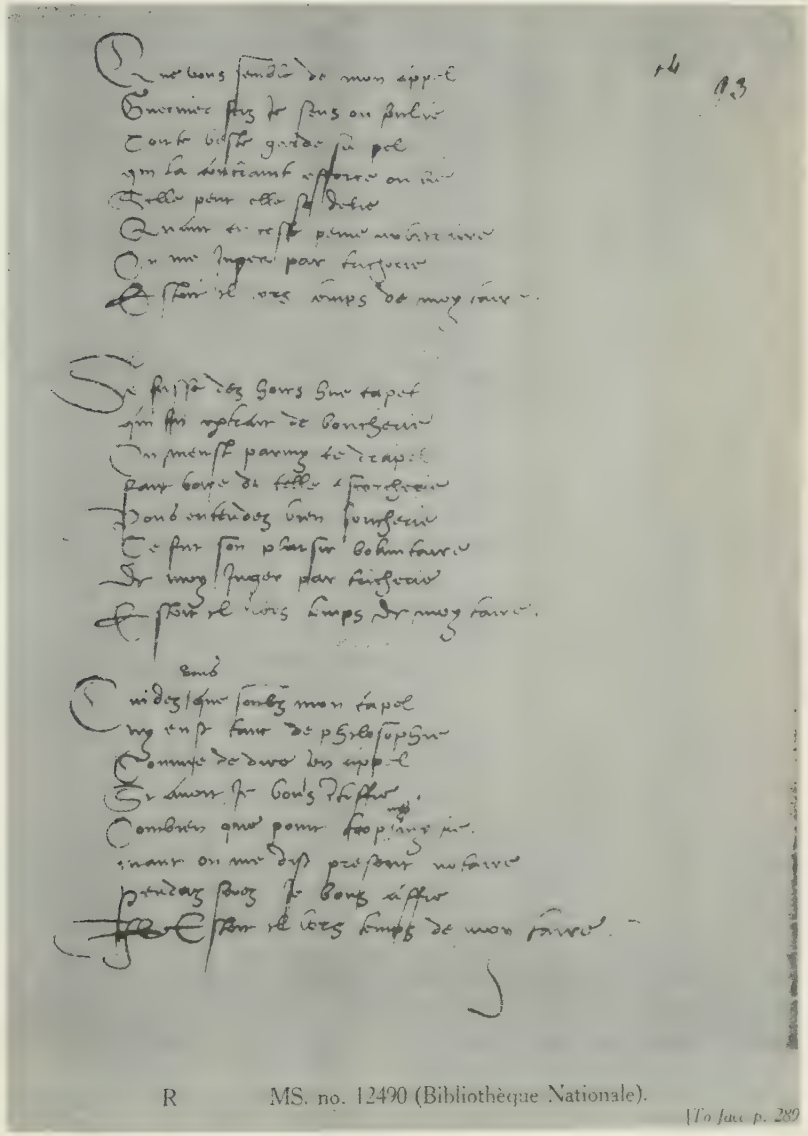
Sy non aux tristres chiens matins
qui mont fait chier dures crotes
menger mains soirs *et* moins matins
que ores je ne crains pas troys crotes

pour eulx je feisse petz et rotes (corr. routes)
je ne puis car je suis assys
combien pour evitter ryotes
je cry a toutes gens mercys.

The date of this manuscript is *c.* 1500. A microfilm of Villon's part is in the University Library.

R (Robertet) is MS 12490 (Bibliothèque Nationale). This MS was copied for the Robertet family and belonged to them. In the eighteenth century it came into the possession of Lenglet-Dufresnoy who presented it to the Royal Library. It is the latest in date of our MS. sources and was copied about 1515. It is in much better preservation than P and far easier to read. I call it well written. Villon's work begins on 84 ro. and continues to 98 vo. It is headed 'Balades extraictes du testament et Codicille m^e^ francois villon':

84 ro. Dictez moy ne en quel pais.
84 vo. Qui plus ou est le tiers calixte.
85 ro. Car ou soit ly saintz apostolles.
86 ro. Balade treple (!) Pour ce aymez tant que vous vouldrez.
87 ro. Dame des cieulx regente terrienne.
87 vo. Pere nohe qui plantastez la vigne.
88 ro. En reagal en arcenic rochier.
89 ro. Sur mol duvet assiz ung gras chanoisne.
89 vo. Quoy que tiennent belles langagieres.
90 ro. Se jayme et sers la belle de bon hait.
91 ro. Car or soies porteur de bulles.
91 vo. Espitaphe de villon—Cy gist et dort en ce sollier.
92 ro. Rondeau—Repos eternel donne a cil.
92 ro. A chartreux aussi celestins.
93 ro. Que vous semble de mon appel.
93 vo. Tetrastique quant il fut juge—Je suis francois dont ce me poise.
93 vo. Epitaphe dudit villon—Frerez humains qui aprez nous vivez.
94 ro. Le debat du cueur et du corps dudit villon (only the title appears on this side of the leaf).
94 vo. Qui est ce que joy? ce suis je. qui? ton cueur.
95 ro. La requeste que bailla ledit villon a messeigneurs de parlement—Tous mes cinq cens yeulx oreille et bouche.
96 ro. La requeste que bailla ledit villon a mon seigneur de bourbon—Le mien seigneur et prince redoubte.
96 vo. Tant grate chievre que mal gist.
97 vo. Je cognois bien mouches en lait.
98 ro. Rencontre soit de beste feu gectant.
98 vo. Cy finent les ballades de villon.



R MS. no. 12490 (Bibliothèque Nationale).

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Scholars have noticed some relationship between I, P and R. They have so many features in common that it has been supposed that P and R were copied from I or from some related printed edition. Perhaps it would be safer to suppose that I, P, R all derive from a common MS. source. Here is a transcription of the specimen page 93 ro. :

Que vous semble de mon appel
Guernier feiz je sens ou foulie
Toute beste garde sa pel
Qui la contraint efforce ou lie
Selle peut elle se delie
Quant en ceste peine arbitraire
On me jugea par tricherie
Estoit il lors temps de moy taire.

Se fusse dez hoirs hue capet
Qui fut extrait de boucherie
On meust parmy ce drapel
Fait boire de telle escorcherie
Vous entendez bien joncherie
Ce fut son plaisir voluntaire
De moy juger par tricherie
Estoit il lors temps de moy taire.

Cuidez que soubz mon capel
Ny eust tant de philosophie
Comme de dire jen appel
Si avoit je vous *certiffie*
Combien que point trop my fie
Quant on me dist present notaire
Penduz serez je vous affie
Estoit il lors temps de moy taire.

There are very few abbreviations in this MS. and only one in the above 24 lines. A microfilm of pages 84-98 is in the University Library.

V (La Vallière) is MS. 25458 (Bibliothèque Nationale). This is the personal book of Charles d'Orléans and consequently dates from the middle years of the fifteenth century. It contains two of Villon's works which are not found elsewhere.

1. The poem which Longnon entitled ' Le dit de la naissance Marie d'Orléans ' beginning

2 0

O louee concepcion
Envoiee sa jus des cieulx.

2. La ballade du concours de Blois (Longnon's title) beginning

Je meurs de seuf aupres de la fontaine.

In this MS. there appear no less than ten ballades on this theme. Six of them (including Villon's) have the author's name attached. See Pierre Champion's edition of Charles d'Orléans, Paris, 1923-1927 (Classiques françois du moyen âge), pp. 187-191 and pp. 194-195.

There remain two minor sources which I have not been able to see.

1. H, a Berlin MS. known as the 'MS. du Cardinal de Rohan' belongs to the fifteenth century and contains five of Villon's poems :

La Requeste a Monsieur de Bourbon
Ballade contre les ennemis de la France
Ballade des langues envieuses
Ballade de la Grosse Margot
Rondeau—Mort j'appelle de ta rigueur.

An edition of H was published by Martin Löpelmann, Göttingen, 1923.

2. A selection from the works of Alain Chartier, Paris, 1489. In this occurs the very mediocre ballad 'Hommes faillis, bersaudez de raison' which has been ascribed to Villon because his name appears acrostically in the 'envoi'.

It will be seen, then, that the 'Lais' or 'Petit Testament' appears in A, B, C, F, I. It is worth noting that this work comes after the 'Grand Testament' in A, I.

'Le Grand Testament' appears in A, C, F, I. The sources of some of the ballads which were incorporated in this work are given below :

ll. 329-356	Dictes moy ou, n'en quel pays	ACFIPR
ll. 357-384	Qui plus, ou est le tiers Calixte	ACFIPR
ll. 385-412	Car ou soit ly sains apostolles	ACFIR
ll. 625-672	Pour ce aymez tant que vouldrez	ACFIR
ll. 873-909	Dame du ciel, regente terrienne	ACFIR
ll. 1238-1265	Pere Noé, qui plantastes la vigne	ACFIPR
ll. 1422-1456	En reagal, en arcenic rochier	ACFHIJPR
ll. 1473-1506	Sur mol duvet assis, ung gras chanoine	ACFIPR
ll. 1515-1542	Quoy quon tient belles langagieres	ACFIR

ll. 1591-1627	Se j'ayme et sers la belle de bon hait	ACFHIJPR
ll. 1692-1719	Car ou soies porteur de bulles	CFIR
ll. 1884-1903	Cy gist et dort en ce sollier	ACFIR
ll. 1968-1995	A chartreux et a Celestins	ACIPR

I also add the sources of the ' Poésies Diverses ' :

1.	Hommes faillis, bersaudez de raison.	Alain Chartier, Paris, 1489.
2.	Tant grate chievre que mal gist	FIJPR
3.	Je congnois bien mouches en let	FIJPR
4.	Il n'est soing que quant on a fain	F
5.	Rencontré soit de bestes feu getans	HJR
6.	Jenin lanemy	J
7.	Je meurs de seuf auprès de la fontaine	V
8.	O louee concepcion	V
9.	Aiez pitié, aiez pitié de moy	C
10.	Le mien seigneur et prince redoubté	HIPR
11.	Qu'est ce que j'oy ? Ce suis je ! Qui ? Ton cuer	FIJPR
12.	Fortune fus par clers jadis nommée	ACP
13.	Je suis François, dont il me poise	FIR
14.	Freres humains qui après nous vivez	CFIJPR
15.	Tous mes cinq sens : yeulx, oreilles et bouche	FIJPR
16.	Que vous semble de mon appel	CFIJPR

In the introduction to his monumental edition of the " Roman de la Rose " Ernest Langlois tells us that he had catalogued 215 manuscripts of that once popular poem and classified 116 of them. When it is realised that the ' Roman ' consists of over 21,000 lines the magnitude of his task at once becomes apparent. By comparison the editor of Villon should have a simple task. But it is not altogether so. The manuscripts of the ' Roman ' could be classified but so far those of Villon have baffled all attempts at classification. Similarities have been observed between two or three manuscripts but they are usually cancelled by the discrepancies. C and I have similarities ; so have A and I and again so have C and F.

The first really critical edition of Villon was that produced by Auguste Longnon in 1892. The result of over twenty years' work, this edition has been the basis of all subsequent editions —which is sufficient proof of its value. With this edition and his ' Etude Biographique ' (1877) Longnon has made the greatest single contribution to the study of Villon. The only serious criticism that can be made of Longnon's edition is the unreliability of his textual notes. Perhaps he entrusted this part

of the work to somebody else. The next is Thuasne's 1923 edition. Its text is very good and the notes are a mine of erudition. In spite of his boast that he copied and collated all the manuscripts himself there are still too many errors in his critical *apparatus*. Some errors seem copied direct from Longnon. The last is Longnon-Foulet edition of 1932. Using Longnon as his basis M. Lucien Foulet has produced an edition which avoids most of the errors of Longnon and Thuasne. If one ventured to criticise such a wonderful piece of work it would be to say that there are in the text too many forms which have no MS. authority whatsoever. It is true to say that no one has a wider knowledge of the Villon manuscripts than M. Foulet who has contributed to 'Romania' in the last thirty years a number of erudite notes on difficult parts of Villon's text.

Nevertheless there would seem to be room for another edition in which the variants are correctly given and in which forms without manuscript authority are not allowed. I wonder also whether it is worth while to aim at consistency of spelling when we remember that no single manuscript is consistent and that spelling was in a very fluid state in the Middle Ages.

The MS. pages reproduced here are three from unpublished manuscripts A, P, R and one from F. The 1905 edition of the latter consisted of a hundred copies so that it is almost impossible to obtain to-day. B, C, I, J have all been published.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S USE OF THE BIBLE IN THE *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE*

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THAT Geoffrey of Monmouth was a thorough student and a literary craftsman of great ingenuity, few will deny. Nor will it be denied that his unmatched skill with which he transforms, develops, enlarges and actually dismembers various details drawn from his sources commands admiration,—and so does the facility with which he succeeded in piecing them together and making them an integral part of his narrative, which, strange to say, to use Geoffrey's own words, leaves the impression of a *liber veraciter editus*. Or perhaps the impression of fiction made plausible.

But the skill and facility with which a historian manipulates and effaces his sources render the task of tracing them all the more complex and difficult. This is especially true of Geoffrey. Among the many sources which he utilised in the composition of his *Historia* was the Bible, a fact noticed by many scholars,[1] among whom Feuerherd, for example, devoted the larger part of his dissertation [2] to the study of the influence of the Old Testament upon Geoffrey. All of these scholars, however, call attention to biblical reminiscences, motifs, situations, which Geoffrey, following his habit, transformed and incorporated in his *Historia*. Feuerherd goes even so far as to believe that Geoffrey wrote it ". . . in Parallele zu der Geschichte des Judenvolkes . . .," [3] and that he found the model for his work

[1] Cp. R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles Especially Those of Great Britain and France*, p. 87 (Boston, 1906); R. Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England*, pp. 25-28 (New York, 1911); E. Faral, *La Légende Arthurienne*, vol. 2, *passim* (Paris, 1929).

[2] Paul Feuerherd, *Geoffrey von Monmouth und das alte Testament, etc.* (Dissertation, Halle, 1915).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

in the History of the Jewish People.[1] After examining the few passages in the *Historia*, in which Geoffrey himself refers to the Old Testament,[2] he proceeds to a discussion of those which, through their contents, point to the Old Testament.[3] An illustration is in order here. Feuerherd believes that Geoffrey endowed the two British princes, Dunwallo and Ebrauc, with the qualities of the three great Jewish Kings, Saul, David and Solomon.

However, none of the scholars mentioned stresses a question which in my opinion calls for an answer, namely, what imprint has the language of the Scriptures left upon Geoffrey's *Historia*? This question merits an answer, especially since it is an acknowledged fact that the Bible was prescribed reading for theologians in the schools of the Middle Ages. And Geoffrey, the future bishop of St. Asaph, was a theologian. Though I am not a biblical scholar, I shall attempt to give at least a partial answer to that question.[4]

In Nennius' *Historia Britonum* (chap. 10), we read that Brutus, while playing with others, killed his father "*ictu sagittae* . . . non de industria, sed *casu*." This story of the accidental shooting by Brutus Geoffrey (*Hist.* 1. 3; Faral, chap. 6) took over from Nennius. But following his method of never adhering strictly to his sources, he added some details not found in his model. According to Geoffrey, Silvius, Brutus' father, was killed "in-opino *ictu sagittae*," during a hunt. For as the servants were driving up deer toward him, "Brutus, *telum* in ipsos *dirigere* affectans, genitorem sub pectore *percussit*." With this compare the death of Achab in 3 *Reg.* 22. 34: "Vir autem quidam tetendit arcum, in incertum *sagittam dirigens*, et *casu percussit* regem Israel inter pulmonem. . . ." Thus Geoffrey's passage contains elements of both the Bible and Nennius.

[1] *Geoffrey von Monmouth und das alte Testament*, p. 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-31. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-85.

[4] This paper will not consider such phrases as "In diebus eius"; "usque in praesentem (or hodiernum) diem"; "sine intermissione"; "misericordiam facere"; "solium regni." These phrases occur frequently in the *Historia* and in the Scriptures.

All the references are to the traditional division of the *Historia* and to Faral's edition.

In the same chapter (Faral, chap. 7), Geoffrey relates how the Trojans hearing of Brutus' fame, flocked to him with the result that their forces soon reached the number of seven thousands "*exceptis parvulis et mulieribus.*" Cf. *Deut.* 3. 19: "omnes viri. . . absque uxoribus, *et parvulis*"; *Dan.* 14. 9: ". . . *exceptis* uxoribus, *et parvulis*"; but especially *Matth.* 14. 21: "*exceptis mulieribus et parvulis.*" Geoffrey, it is seen, reversed the word order.[1]

Hist. 1. 7 (Faral, chap. 11). Brutus compels Anacletus, the companion of Antigonus "*evaginato gladio*" to do his bidding. See *Num.* 22. 23: "*evaginato gladio*"; also 22. 31 and *Act.* 16. 27.

Hist. 1. 10 (Faral, chap. 14). After taking Pandrasus' tent, Brutus spared his life. But Brutus' "turma" gave no quarter and "partem quam sortita fuerat, *usque ad internecionem deleverat.*" This destruction continued throughout the night and in the morning "*tanta ruina* patuit *populi.*"

In *Num.* 17. 13 the Jews say to Moses: "Num *usque ad internecionem* cuncti *delendi sumus?*" The phrase "*usque ad internecionem*" occurs repeatedly in the Bible. For "*tanta . . . populi,*" see 1 *Reg.* 4. 17: "et *ruina magna* facta est in *populo.*"

Mempricius, one of the Trojans, seeing that his countrymen were unable to agree on what to demand of King Pandrasus, suggested that they should ask for his daughter Innogen for Brutus and "cum ea *aurum et argentum*, naves *et frumentum* et quodcumque *itineri* nostro *necessarium erit.*" Cf. *Osee* 2. 8: "ego dedi ei *frumentum*, et vinum, et oleum, *et argentum* multiplicavi ei, *et aurum*"; *Jud.* 19. 20: "Pax tecum sit, ego praebebo *omnia quae necessaria sunt*"; *Tob.* 8. 21: "Uxori . . . dixit ut . . . praepararet omnia *quae* in cibos *erant iter* agentibus *necessaria.*"

When the Trojans, under Brutus' leadership, came to Aquitaine (*Hist.* 1. 12; Faral, chap. 17), "*Morati sunt ibi septem diebus* situmque regni *exploraverunt.*" Cf. *Josue* 3. 1: ". . . et

[1] In *Hist.*, 1, 12 (Faral, chap. 18), Brutus hearing of the advance of Goffarius' army, sent away "*mulieres et parvulos*" to the ships. See *Gen.* 33, 5: "vidit *mulieres et parvulos* earum"; *Esther* 3, 13: "*parvulos et mulieres*".

morati sunt ibi tres dies"; *Num.* 13. 22: "... *exploraverunt terram* a deserto."

The second book (2. 1; Faral, chap. 23) begins with "*Cognoverat autem* Brutus *uxorem suam.*" Cf. *Gen.* 4. 17: "*Cognovit autem* Cain *uxorem suam*"; also *Gen.* 4. 1: "Adam vero *cognovit uxorem suam.*"

To what degree Geoffrey was indebted to the Bible for his King Ebrauc story (*Hist.* 2. 7-8; Faral, chap. 27), has been demonstrated by Feuerherd.[1] I should like to add one parallel which seemingly escaped his attention. In 2. 8 (Faral, chap. 27) Geoffrey states that King Ebrauc, who had twenty sons and thirty daughters, sent all his daughters to Italy (*direxit in Italiam*), to Silvius Alba: "fuerunt ibi *maritatae* nobilioribus Troianis. ..." Cf. *Iud.* 12. 9: "Qui (Abesan de Bethlehem) habuit triginta *filios*, et totidem *filias, quas emittens foras, maritis dedit.* ..."

According to Feuerherd (p. 38), "machen die angegebenen Zahlen 20 und 30 ganz den Eindruck, als ob sie willkürlich angenommen wären." The above biblical passage proves that this is not the case, since both Abesan and Ebrauc sent their daughters to foreign lands to be married off. There is, however, further evidence. Geoffrey gives a full list of names of Ebrauc's sons, which he begins as follows: "Erant autem *nomina filiorum eius.* ..." Cf. *Gen.* 25. 13: "et haec *nomina filiorum eius.* ..."

Hist. 2. 10 (Faral, chap. 30). King Bladud built the city of Bath, and constructed hot baths there; these he dedicated to Minerva, "in cuius aede inextinguibiles *ignes* posuit, *qui numquam deficiebant* in favillas. ..."

Professor Faral pointed out [2] that in the composition of this passage Geoffrey drew on Solinus (*Polyhistoria* 22), whom he copied in part. Here is what Solinus says: "Quibus fontibus praesul est Minervae numen, in cuius aede perpetui ignes numquam canescunt in favillas. ..."

I agree with Professor Faral that Geoffrey copied Solinus. But he also copied another source. Cf. *Lev.* 6. 13: "*Ignis* est iste perpetuus, *qui numquam deficiet* in altari."

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 36-39; cf. Faral, *op. cit.*, 2, 99-100. [2] *Op. cit.*, 2, 104-105.

Since I have discussed the biblical parallels in the King Lear story elsewhere,[1] there is no need to repeat them. Here I shall add two more. King Lear (*Hist.* 2. 11 ; Faral, chap. 31) "*Aedificavit* . . . super fluvium Soram *civitatem*, quae . . . de *nomine eius* Kaerleir . . . nuncupatur." Cf. *Gen.* 4. 17 : "et *aedificavit* (Cain) *civitatem*, vocavitque *nomen eius ex nomine* filii sui, Henoch."

Lear, deprived of his kingdom, was compelled to stay in the house of his son-in-law Maglaunus. But after two years, "*moram* eo apud generum *faciente*, indignata est Gonorilla. . . ." Cf. *Matth.* 25. 5 : "*Moram* autem *faciente* sponso. . . ."

Hist. 2. 17 (Faral, chap. 34). When King Dunwallo reduced the entire island, "*fecit sibi diadema ex auro.* . . ." Cf. 1 *Par.* 20. 2 : "David . . . *fecit* . . . *sibi* inde *diadema.* . . ."

Feuerherd (pp. 39-44) has discussed the Dunwallo Molmutius episode. To his discussion I shall add one parallel. In his Molmutine Laws King Dunwallo enacted that cities and temples should have the right "*ut quicumque fugitivus* sive reus *ad ea confugeret*, cum venia *coram inimico* suo abiret." In my opinion this passage was inspired by *Josue* 20. 2 : "Separate urbes *fugitivorum* . . . *ut confugiat ad eas quicumque* animam percusserit nescius, et possit evadere iram proximi. . . ." See also *Num.* 35. 10-14 ; *Deut.* 4. 41. For "*coram inimico*," cf. *Deut.* 1. 42 : "*coram inimicis* vestris " ; also *Ecclesiasticus* 30. 5.

Hist. 3. 1 (Faral, chap. 35). After the death of King Dunwallo, his two sons Belinus and Brennius ruled peacefully for five years. However, some "*fabricatores mendacii*" gained the ear of Brennius and urged him to break the covenant entered upon with his brother. See *Job* 13. 4 : "prius vos ostendens *fabricatores mendacii.*"

Hist. 3. 6 (Faral, chap. 40). Brennius fled to Gaul and was honourably received by Seginus, duke of the Allobroges. He showed great ability in affairs ; moreover, "*Erat* etiam *pulcher*[2] *aspectu*, procera et gracilia membra habens. . . ." In *Gen.* 39. 6 Joseph is described as follows : "*Erat* autem Joseph *pulchra* facie, et decorus *aspectu.*" As for David (1 *Reg.* 16. 12),

[1] *Latomus*, 5 (1946), 299-301.

[2] Faral's reading " pulchro " has no manuscript authority.

"*Erat* autem rufus, et *pulcher aspectu* decoraque facie"; cf. also 1 *Reg.* 17. 42: "*erat* enim (David) adolescens, rufus, et *pulcher aspectu.*" Here it may be added that King Morvid (*Hist.* 3. 14; Faral, chap. 48) is also described as "*pulcher aspectu.*"

After Seginus' death, Brennius, who became his successor, decided to take revenge upon his brother Belinus (*Hist.* 3. 7; Faral, chap. 41). He sailed with a mighty army to Britain and here was met by his brother who was accompanied by the whole strength of his kingdom. Before the armies met, Conwenna, their mother, rushed through the ranks and reaching the place where Brennius stood, kissed him and uncovering her bosom, pleaded with him as follows:

> *Memento*, fili, *memento uberum* istorum, *quae suxisti, matrisque tuae uteri* . . . Anxietatum igitur *quas* pro te *passa sum reminiscens*, petitioni meae adquiesce. . . .

In the composition of this scene Geoffrey utilised several biblical parallels. Cf. *Cant.* 1. 3: ". . . *memores uberum* tuorum . . .," *ibidem*, 8. 1: "Quis mihi det te fratrem meum, *sugentem ubera matris* meae . . .," and above all *Luke* 11. 27: ". . . extollens vocem quaedam mulier de turba dixit illi: Beatus venter qui te portavit et *ubera quae suxisti*. . . ." Cf. also *Tob.* 4. 4: "et honorem habebis matri tuae omnibus diebus vitae eius: *memor enim esse debes* quae et quanta pericula *passa sit propter te* in *utero suo.*" Cf. also *Jud.* 13. 5: "ex *matris utero*"; *ibid.* 13. 7: "ex *utero matris* suae"; *Iob* 1. 21: "Nudus egressus sum de *utero matris*. . . ." and *Psalm* 138. 13: ". . . suscepisti me de *utero matris meae.*"[1]

Continuing her plea, Conwenna asked Brennius not to carry out his revenge because Belinus had done him no injury. As to his complaint that he had been banished by Belinus, "si *eventum rei* diligenter intueri institeris, nullatenus reperies quod iniustitiam vocabis. Non enim fugavit te, *ut deterius tibi contingeret*. . . ." Cf. *Gen.* 41. 13: "audivimus quidquid postea *rei* probavit *eventus*"; *Exod.* 2. 4: ". . . et considerante *eventum rei.*" Above all, see *John* 5. 14: "iam noli peccare,

[1] According to Professor Faral (*op. cit.* 2. 134), Geoffrey is indebted to Statius for this scene. I agree. But from the above it must become clear that Geoffrey combined two sources, Statius and the Bible.

ne deterius tibi aliquid *contingat.*" Here it may be added that the same biblical phrase occurs again in *Hist.* 8. 20 (Faral, chap. 138). When Gorlois was killed and messengers came to Igerna to inform her of his death, they found King Uther with her in Gorlois' likeness. Pseudo-Gorlois assured Igerna that he was alive and then told her of his plan to go out to meet Uther and to make peace with him, " ne nobis *deterius contingat.*"

Hist. 3. 9 (Faral, chap. 43). After their reconciliation Belinus and Brennius crossed into Gaul and then marched into Italy and besieged Rome. To strike terror into the hearts of the Romans they ordered the erection of gibbets before the city and threatened that " obsides, quos dederant, *in patibulo suspenderent*, nisi sese deditioni submitterent." It would seem that Geoffrey derived the phrase " *in patibulo suspendere* " from the Bible; see *Gen.* 40. 22: " (Pharao) alterum *suspendit in patibulo* "; *Josue* 8. 29: " regem quoque . . . *suspendit in patibulo* "; *Esther* 7. 10: " *Suspensus est* . . . Aman *in patibulo.*" The Romans, however, refused to surrender, whereupon Belinus and Brennius ordered their hostages to be hanged " *in conspectu parentum.*" The phrase " *in conspectu* " is very common in the Bible.

Hist. 3. 17 (Faral, chap. 50). When King Elidurus met his dethroned brother Arthgallo, he conducted him to York, " cepitque *diadema de capite* suo et fratris *capiti imposuit.*" Cf. 2 *Reg.* 12. 30: " Et tulit *diadema* regis eorum *de capite* eius . . . et *impositum est* super *caput* David."

Hist. 4. 3 (Faral, chap. 56). Geoffrey gives a graphic description of the first battle between Cassibellaunus and Caesar, in which " . . . hinc et inde *corruunt vulnerati.*" Cf. 1 *Par.* 5. 22: " *Vulnerati* autem multi *corruerunt* "; 2 *Par.* 13. 17: " et *corruerunt vulnerati* ex Israel. . . ."

Hist. 4. 8 (Faral, chap. 61). When Androgeus refused to deliver to Cassibellaunus his nephew Evelinus so that he might be punished for the murder of Hirelglas, Cassibellaunus invaded Androgeus' provinces. But Androgeus " cotidie per *cognatos et notos* regem adibat. . . ." Cf. *Luke* 2. 44: " . . . et requirebant eum inter *cognatos et notos.*"

Hist. 4. 9 (Faral, chap. 62). Having failed in his attempt

to come to terms with Cassibellaunus, Androgeus appealed to Caesar and together they succeeded, after a furious battle, in cornering Cassibellaunus and his army on a rocky mountain. After a few days, due to a lack of provisions, Cassibellaunus sent a message to Androgeus, requesting him to act as a peace-maker between Caesar and himself. To this message Androgeus gave the following answer: "Non est diligendus princeps qui in bello est mitis ut agnus, in pace ferus ut leo. . . . Non eram igitur iniuste tractandus. . . ." For the thought Geoffrey may have been indebted to *Ecclesiasticus* 4. 35: "Noli esse sicut leo in domo tua, evertens domesticos tuos, et opprimens subiectos tibi."

Hist. 4. 17 (Faral, chap. 70). King Marius permitted the people that came with King Rodric to settle in the part of Albania called Caithness. The new settlers, "*uxores* non habentes," desired the daughters and kinswomen of the Britons, but meeting with a flat refusal, they sailed to Ireland, "*duxeruntque* ex patria illa mulieres. . . ." Cf. *Iud.* 3. 5-6: "Itaque filii Israel habitaverunt in medio Chananaei . . . *et duxerunt uxores filias* eorum, ipsisque filias suas filiis eorum tradiderunt. . . ." Here we have an example of Geoffrey's departure from his source. While the Hebrews intermarried with Canaanites, Hittites and other tribes, no such thing was tolerated by the proud Britons.

Hist. 5. 8 (Faral, chap. 80). Trahern forced Octavius to flee to Norway. Before leaving Britain Octavius ordered his friends to watch for an opportunity to kill Trahern. One of Octavius' most devoted followers succeeded in ambushing and killing Trahern. "*Quod cum nuntiatum esset* Octavio, reversus est in Britanniam. . . ." Cf. 1 *Reg.* 19. 21: "*Quod cum nuntiatum esset* Sauli. . . ."

Hist. 5. 10 (Faral, chap. 82). Maximian, pleased with Maurice's offer, set out for Britain. When King Octavius heard the news of his arrival, "*expavit stupore vehementi* . . .," because he believed it to be an invasion. Cf. *Gen.* 27. 33: "*Expavit* Isaac *stupore vehementi.*"

In Conan's camp Maurice assured Conan that Maximian and his retinue landed with peaceful intentions. As proof he cited the fact that from the time of their arrival their conduct

was above reproach. Moreover, "Expensam nostram ut gens pacis ferimus, quia *necessaria ementes* nihil vi cuiquam surripuimus." Cf. *Gen.* 42. 2: "descendite, et *emite* nobis *necessaria*, ut possimus vivere . . ."; 42. 7: "(Venimus), ut *emamus* victui *necessaria*"; also *Gen.* 43. 4 and 43. 22: "Sed et aliud attulimus argentum, ut *emamus* quae nobis *necessaria* sunt."

Hist. 5. 11 (Faral, chap. 83). When Caradoc convinced King Octavius that he should bestow his kingdom and daughter on Maximian, Conan Meriadoc, who aspired to the throne, became indignant "*ultra quam* exprimi *potest*." Cf. *Gen.* 27. 33: "et *ultra quam* credi *potest*, admirans ait." Here Geoffrey substituted "exprimi" for "credi." But the passage with "credi" occurs in *Hist.* 6. 7 (Faral, chap. 95): "Quo viso, *ultra quam credi potest*, contristati sunt Picti. . . ."

Hist. 5. 13 (Faral, chap. 85). Maximian crossed over to Gaul with large forces and took Rennes. The Gauls, hearing of the bravery and savagery of the Britons, abandoned their cities and towns, leaving their wives and children behind them. The Britons, "ubicumque intrabant, *interficiebant quicquid* erat *masculini sexus, solis mulieribus parcentes*." Cf. *Exod.* 1. 22, where Pharao orders the Egyptians: "*Quidquid masculini sexus* natum fuerit, in flumen proicite; *quidquid feminini, reservate*."

Hist. 6. 4 (Faral, chap. 92). After the failure of their ambassadors to secure help for Aetius (Agitius) the Britons, "*Inito* itaque *consilio*," sent archbishop Guethelin to Lesser Britain. Cf. 1 *Par.* 12. 19: ". . . quia *inito consilio* remiserunt eum"; 2 *Par.* 30. 2: "*Inito* ergo *consilio* regis . . ."; *ibidem*, 32. 3: "*inito* cum principibus *consilio* . . ."; *Matt.* 27, 7: "*Consilio* autem *inito*. . . ."[1]

Upon his arrival the archbishop addressed King Aldroenus and delivered the kingdom of Britain into his hands (regnum Britanniae *in manus* tuas *trado*). Instead of accepting Aldroenus committed his brother Constantine to Guethelin's charge. When Constantine was called in, Guethelin exclaimed: ". . . Assit modo Christus; ecce defensio nostra; *ecce spes nostra et gaudium*." The phrase "*in manus tradere*" occurs frequently

[1] The phrase "*inito consilio*" occurs also in Nennius, chap. 37; in Geoffrey it occurs again in 6. 15 (Faral, chap. 103): "*initoque consilio*."

in the Bible ; cf. for example, *Exod.* 21. 13 : " sed Deus illum *tradidit in manus* eius " ; *Josue* 24. 8 : " *tradidi* eos *in manus* vestras " ; *ibidem* 24. 11 : " et *tradidi* illos *in manus* vestras." Cf. also *Isaiah* 20. 6 : " *Ecce* haec erat *spes nostra* . . ." ; *ibidem*, 22. 13 : " et *ecce gaudium* et laetitia. . . ."

Hist. 16. 6 (Faral, chap. 94). After the death of King Constantine " fuit *dissensio* inter proceres (Britonum)." Cf. *John* 10. 19 : " *Dissensio* iterum facta est *inter* Iudaeos " ; *Act.* 23. 7 : " facta est *dissensio inter* pharisaeos et sadducaeos."

Hist. 6. 11 (Faral, chap. 99). When Hengist realised to what degree the king depended upon him and his help, he made the following demand : " Quippe inter cetera *danda esset mihi* civitas, sive oppida, ut dignior . . . censerer." This calls to mind 1 *Reg.* 27. 5 : " Dixit . . . David ad Achis . . . *detur mihi* locus in una urbium regionis huius ut habitem ibi."

Hist. 6. 12 (Faral, chap. 100). In this chapter Geoffrey describes the arrival of picked Saxon warriors who brought along Ronwen, the daughter of Hengist. To honour the occasion Hengist gave a banquet to which he invited King Vortegirn. After the banquet Ronwen stepped forth with a golden cup filled with wine and greeted the king. Vortegirn fell madly in love with her and demanded her of her father.

As is known, this episode is derived from Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, chap. 37. But to expect Geoffrey to adhere strictly to his source without expanding, remodelling or recolouring it, is to expect the impossible. To quote an example, in Nennius Hengist's daughter served the guests " vinum et siceram " ; but in Geoffrey, after the banquet royal, Ronwen stepped forth from her chamber with a " ciphus aureus " filled with wine, and, approaching Vortegirn, she bent her knees and greeted him.

From what source has Geoffrey derived these additional details ? In my opinion from the Bible, and from *Esther* in particular. For even in Nennius' account there are traces of the influence of *Esther*.[1] Nennius describes Hengist's daughter as " *pulchra facie* atque decorosa *valde* " ; cf. *Esther* 1. 11 : " Vashti . . . erat . . . *pulchra valde* " ; 2. 7 : " Esther *pulchra* nimis et *decora facie* " ; 2. 15 : " erat enim formosa *valde*, et

[1] Observed by Feuerherd, p. 95.

incredibili *pulchritudine* (for all this Geoffrey substituted ' cuius [Ronwen's] *pulchritudo* nulli secunda videbatur ')." Nennius, too, tells us that after Vortegirn married Hengist's daughter " *amavit* (some MSS. read : *adamavit*) *eam valde* " ; cf. *Esther* 2. 17 : " Et *adamavit eam* rex plus quam omnes mulieres (cf. also *Gen.* 34. 19 : ' *amabat* enim *puellam valde* ')."

Geoffrey who, as has become clear by this time, knew his Bible, must have undoubtedly realised Nennius' indebtedness to the Bible and must have decided to enlarge his account by drawing additional details from the same source. Thus for Nennius' " *convivium* " and for " *grande convivium* " and " *convivium permagnificum* " in *Esther* (1. 3 and 2. 18), Geoffrey substituted " *regiae epulae* " ; Geoffrey tells us that Ronwen " *Accedens* deinde propius regi *flexis genibus*," greeted him ; cf. *Esther* 5. 2 : " Quae (Esther) *accedens, osculata est* summitatem virgae eius (of Ahasuerus)." While Geoffrey actually took over " *Accedens* " from the *Esther* passage, he remodelled the rest of that passage by making Vortegirn kiss Ronwen (*osculatus est* eam) ; in the original Esther kissed the top of Ahasuerus' sceptre. It must also be remembered that Ronwen greeted Vortegirn " *flexis genibus* " holding a " *ciphus aureus* " in her hands. The term " *flectere genua* " occurs three times in *Esther* : " *flectebant genua*," " *flectebat genu* " and " *flecteret* sibi *genu* (3. 2 ; 3. 5)." But for " *flexis genibus* " [1] see 2 *Par.* 6. 13 : " et deinceps *flexis genibus* . . . ait." As for the " *ciphus aureus*," from which Ronwen drank and Vortegirn after her, it is worth recalling that the guests at Ahasuerus' banquet " Bibebant . . . *aureis* poculis."

Geoffrey makes two statements about Vortegirn's love for Ronwen. The first is " amavit puellam," and it agrees almost verbatim with the statement of Nennius, cited above. The second is that " *quae* (Ronwen) ultra modum *placuit ei*." This latter statement deserves comparison with *Esther* 2. 9 : " *Quae placuit ei* (King Ahasuerus)," and 5. 2 : " Cumque vidisset [2] Esther reginam stantem, *placuit* oculis *eius*." Geoffrey's " ultra

[1] " *flexis genibus* " occurs again in *Hist.* 9. 6 (Faral, chap. 149).

[2] With this compare : " At ille (Vortegirn), *visa facie puellae* (Ronwen), admiratus est tantum eius decorem et incaluit."

modum" corresponds with another statement in *Esther* 2. 17, quoted above: "Et adamavit eam rex *plus quam omnes mulieres.*"

Another point of comparison may be mentioned. Esther succeeded Ahasuerus' first wife Vashti (fecit . . . eam regnare in loco Vashti). Geoffrey, it is true, does not mention the fact that Ronwen succeeded Vortegirn's first wife; but this may be surmised, since he does state that Vortegirn incurred the hatred of his three sons who had been born to him aforetime.

Hist. 6. 13 (Faral, chap. 101). After Vortegirn's marriage to Ronwen, Hengist suggested to the king that they invite Octa and Ebissa: "*bellatores* enim *viri* sunt." These four words Geoffrey lifted literally from Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, chapter 38. "*Bellatores viri*," or "*viri bellatores*" occurs frequently in the Bible; cf. for example, *Josue* 5. 4: "universi *bellatores viri*"; 3 *Reg.* 9. 22: "sed erant *viri bellatores.*"

The gradual increase of Saxon strength caused terror among the Britons. They forsook Vortegirn and raised his son, Vortimer, to the throne, who fought four pitched battles against the Saxons. Of these Geoffrey enumerates three, as follows: "primum (*bellum*) super fluvium Derwent; *secundum* super vadum Episford," in which Horsus and Katigern met and "*ceciderunt ambo*"; "*tertium* super ripam maris. . . ."

In all this Geoffrey followed Nennius (chap. 44), who also mentions three battles. Nennius' numerical sequence of the battles which Geoffrey took over, calls to mind a similar sequence in 2 *Reg.* 21. 18-19: "*Secundum* quoque *bellum* fuit in Gob contra Philistaeos"; "*Tertium* quoque fuit *bellum* in Gob. . . ." For "*ceciderunt ambo*," which is Geoffrey's variation for Nennius' "et ibi *cecidit* Hors cum filio Guorthigirni", see *Jer.* 46. 12: "et *ambo* pariter *conciderunt.*"

Hist. 6. 14 (Faral, chap. 102). Vortimer was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victories over the Saxons for a long time because "bonitati eius *invidit* illico *diabolus*," who egged on his stepmother Ronwen to poison him. Cf. *Sap.* 2. 24: "*Invidia* autem *diaboli* mors introivit in orbem terrarum."

When Vortimer realised that he was poisoned and that his end was near, he summoned his soldiers, distributed among them his treasures and comforted them by saying that the journey

he was entering upon was "viam *universae carnis*," the way of all flesh. Cf. for example, *Gen.* 6. 13: "Finis *universae carnis* venit"; *ibidem*, 9. 16: "... animam viventem *universae carnis*"; *Job* 12. 10: "et spiritus *universae carnis*. . . "; *Jer.* 32. 27: "... Deus *universae carnis*."

Hist. 6. 15 (Faral, chap. 103). After Vortimer's death, "*Post obitum* autem *ipsius*," Vortigern was restored to his kingdom. Cf. *Gen.* 25. 11: "Et *post obitum illius* . . ."; 1 *Mac.* 9. 23: "Et factum est, *post obitum* Judae. . . ."

Hist. 6. 16 (Faral, chap. 105). After Hengist's betrayal of Vortegirn, the latter, to save his life, granted Hengist and his Saxons cities and fortified places. The Saxons wrought a terrible devastation and Vortegirn seeing it "*secessit in partibus* (some MSS. read '*in partes*') Kambriae." Cf. *Matth.* 2. 22: "... *secessit in partes* Galilaeae"; *ibidem*, 15. 21: "... *secessit in partes* Tyri. . . ."

Hist. 6. 17 (Faral, chap. 106). Vortegirn, not knowing how to cope with the Saxons, called his wizards ("*Vocatis* denique *magis* suis") and asked their advice as to what he should do. Cf. *Matth.* 2. 7: "Tunc Herodes clam *vocatis Magis*. . . ."

His wizards advised him to search for a lad who never had a father. Vortegirn sent messengers to find such a boy. Their mission was successful and they brought Merlin, with his mother, before the king (*Hist.* 6. 18; Faral, chap. 107). When the king asked Merlin's mother "*ex quo viro conceperat*," she answered (*Cui* illa *dixit*): "*Vivit anima tua et vivit anima mea, domine mi rex*, quia neminem agnovi, qui illum in me generavit. *Unum . . . scio quod*. . . ."

Cf. 1 *Reg.* 1. 26: "Obsecro, *mi domine, vivit anima tua, domine*"; 1 *Reg.* 17. 55: "*De qua stirpe descendit* hic adolescens, Abner? *Dixit*que Abner: *Vivit anima tua, rex*, si novi." Cf. also 4 *Reg.* 2. 2 (and 2. 4 and 2. 6): "*Cui* ait Eliseus: *Vivit* Dominus, *et vivit anima tua! quia* non derelinquam te." See also *Psalm* 118. 175: "*Vivet anima mea*. . . ." For "*domine mi rex*," see *Jer.* 38. 9: "*Domine mi rex* . . ."; for "*unum . . . scio quod*," see *John* 9. 25: "*unum scio, quia*. . . ."[1]

Hist. 6. 19 (Faral, chap. 108). When Merlin found out

[1] For this compare also Nennius, chap. 41: "sed *unum scio quia* . . ."

from Vortegirn that, at the advice of his wizards, he was to be killed and his blood sprinkled upon the foundation of Vortegirn's tower, Merlin addressed the king as follows: "Iube magos tuos venire coram me, et convincam illos mendacium adinvenisse." This calls to mind *Daniel* 13. 61: "*convicerat* . . . eos Daniel ex ore suo *falsum dixisse testimonium.*"

The influence of the Scriptures upon Book VII of the *Historia*, that is the Prophecies of Merlin, has been discussed by Taylor (pp. 27-28), Feuerherd (pp. 70-73, 76-79) and Faral (*op. cit.* 2. 53). Hence there is no need to list the various parallels, except one, at the opening of the Prophecies (7. 1; Faral, chap. 111): "*Sedente* itaque Vortegirno, rege Britonum, *super ripam* exhausti stagni . . ."; this calls to mind *Matth.* 24. 3: "*Sedente* autem *eo super* montem Oliveti. . . ."

Hist. 8. 1 (Faral, chap. 118): After Merlin delivered his prophecies, Vortegirn, above all others, expressed his admiration and "*Scire* igitur *volens* exitum vitae suae," he asked Merlin to tell him what he knew of his end. Cf. perhaps *Gen.* 24. 21: ". . . *scire volens* utrum prosperum iter suum fecisset Dominus. . . ."

Hist. 8. 10 (Faral, chap. 128). When King Aurelius decided to erect a monument to honour the memory of the heroes whom Hengist had treacherously murdered, the king first summoned his master craftsmen (artifices lignorum et lapidum),[1] who refused to undertake the task. Thereupon, at the suggestion of archbishop Tremorin, he summoned Merlin who advised that the Giants' Dance be brought over from Ireland. The stones (*lapides*) of this structure, said Merlin, ". . . si eo modo, quo ibidem *positi sunt*, circa plateam locabuntur, stabunt *in aeternum.*" This calls to mind Josue's command to the twelve priests to carry twelve stones out of the Jordan (*Jos.* 4. 7): "idcirco *positi sunt lapides* isti in monumentum filiorum Israel usque *in aeternum.*"

Hist. 8. 14 (Faral, chap. 132). Pascentius, Vortegirn's son, entered into a covenant with the Saxon Eopa (*pepigit foedus*

[1] Cf. 2. *Reg.* 5. 11: "Misit . . . Hiram . . . *artifices lignorum, artificesque lapidum.* . . ."

cum illo)[1] to kill King Aurelius Ambrosius, who lay ill at Winchester. Disguised as a monk and pretending to be a physician he reached Winchester, and, as far as the king's household was concerned "*gratiam in oculis* eorum *invenit.*" Under the pretext of administering a potion he poisoned the king and disappeared. Cf. *Gen.* 15. 18: "In illo die *pepigit* Dominus *foedus cum* Abram"; 1 *Reg.* 20. 16: "*Pepigit* ergo Jonathas *foedus cum* domo David," *et passim.* See also *Gen.* 33. 10: "sed si *inveni gratiam in oculis* tuis . . ."; 1 *Reg.* 16. 22: ". . . David . . . *invenit* . . . *gratiam in oculis* meis," *et passim.*

Hist. 8. 14 (Faral, chap. 133). At Winchester "*Haec dum* . . . *agerentur,*" a star of marvellous brightness appeared, sending forth a ray with a globe of fire on it in the shape of a dragon and "*ex ore eius procedebant* duo radii. . . ." Cf. 2 *Reg.* 11. 2: "*Dum haec agerentur,* accidit . . ."; 2 *Mac.* 4. 30: "Et cum *haec agerentur,* contigit . . ."; *Job* 41. 10: "*De ore eius* (Leviathan) lampades *procedunt,* sicut taedae ignis accensae"; *Isaiah* 34. 16: "quia quod *ex ore* meo *procedit* . . ." *et passim;* also *Apoc.* 9. 17: "et *de ore* eorum (equorum) *procedit* ignis, et fumus, et sulphur."

Hist. 8. 18 (Faral, chap. 136). Uther became king. Octa, however, with Eosa "*moliti sunt* inferre *inquietudinem* regi atque nationes suas *dilatare.*" Cf. perhaps *Iudith* 14. 9: ". . . *inquietudinem* arte *moliebantur* . . ."; 1 *Mac.* 14. 6: "Et *dilatavit fines gentis suae,* et obtinuit regionem."

Uther rushed against them but was forced to retreat and the Saxons "*insecuti sunt eos* cedentes *usque ad montem* Damen". Cf. 1 *Mac.* 5. 22: "(Simon) . . . *persecutus est eos usque ad* portam . . ."; 1 *Mac.* 9. 15: ". . . et *persecutus est eos usque ad montem* Azoti."

When the daylight failed them, the Saxons ceased their pursuit and during the night Corlois, Duke of Cornwall, advised the king to attack the enemy under the cover of darkness. "*Placuit regi omnibusque* sententia illius (Gorlois) *monitisque suis paruerunt.*" Cf. *Josue* 22. 33: "*Placuitque* sermo *cunctis* audientibus";

[1] Cf. also, *Hist.* 8. 18 (Faral, chap. 136): "soluti . . . a *foedere* quod *pepigerant.*"

2 *Reg.* 17. 4: "*Placuitque* sermo *eius* Absalom, et *cunctis* maioribus natu Israel"; 2 *Par.* 30. 4: "*Placuitque* sermo *regi* et *omni* multitudini"; *Esther* 1. 21: "*Placuitque consilium eius regi* et principibus; *fecitque rex iuxta consilium*. . . ."

The Britons attacked, defeated the Saxons and after the victory Uther repaired to Alclud and then (*Hist.* 8. 19; Faral, chap. 137) "*Circuivit* etiam *omnes* Scotorum nationes rebellemque populum a feritate sua deposuit." Cf. *Matth.* 9. 35: "Et *circuibat* Jesus *omnes* civitates et castella, docens . . . et curans omnem languorem. . . ."

Having established peace in the North, Uther returned to London to celebrate with his nobles the Easter festival. "*Laetitiam agebant cuncti*," because the king welcomed them in a joyful manner. Cf. 1 *Mac.* 7. 48: "Et *laetatus est* populus valde, et *egerunt* diem illam in *laetitia* magna"; 2 *Mac.* 10. 6: "Et cum *laetitia* diebus octo *egerunt*."

Hist. 8. 20 (Faral, chap. 138). When Gorlois fell in battle, "*venerunt nuntii* ad Igernam, qui . . . necem . . . *indicarent*." Cf. 1 *Reg.* 11. 4: "*Venerunt* ergo *nuntii* in Gabaa Saulis, et locuti sunt . . ."; 2 *Par.* 20. 2: "*Veneruntque nuntii*, et *indicaverunt* Josaphat, *dicentes*."

With their customary treachery (*Hist.* 8. 24; Faral, chap. 142), the Saxons devised a plan to poison King Uther and succeeded. After the king's death "advenerunt pontifices cum clero regni, *tuleruntque* corpus eius ad coenobium Ambrii, et infra Choream Gigantum iuxta Aurelium Ambrosium *regio more humaverunt*." Cf. 2 *Reg.* 2. 32: "*Tuleruntque* Asael, et *sepelierunt* eum in sepulchro patris sui in Bethlehem"; see also 2 *Par.* 35. 24: "Qui *transtulerunt* eum de curru . . . *more regio* et asportaverunt eum in Jerusalem; mortuusque est, et sepultus in mausoleo patrum suorum."

Hist. 9. 1 (Faral, chap. 143). The ninth book begins with the words: "*Defuncto* igitur Utherpendragon . . ."; cf. *Matth.* 2. 19: "*Defuncto* autem Herode. . . ."

Hist. 9. 3 (Faral, chap. 145). Arthur set out to relieve Lincoln. "Ut igitur *cum omni multitudine sua eo venerunt*, proeliati sunt cum Saxonibus. . . ." Cf. *Num.* 1. 17: ". . . *cum omni* vulgi *multitudine*"; 2 *Reg.* 3. 35: "Cumque *venisset* universa *multitudo*. . . ."

In the wood of Celidon the Saxons resisted bitterly and, by hiding behind the trees, avoided the arrows of the Britons. Arthur ordered his men to fell the trees and place the trunks "*in circuitu*,"[1] in order to prevent the Saxons from getting out. The phrase "*in circuitu*" occurs repeatedly in the Bible; cf. for example, 1 *Reg.* 10. 1; 2 *Reg.* 22. 12.

When his order was complied with, Arthur ordered his men to patrol the wood "*mansitque tribus diebus ibi.*" Cf. 1 *Esdras* 8. 15 and 32: "et *mansimus ibi tribus diebus*"; 1 *Mac.* 11. 40: et *mansit ibi diebus* multis"; *John* 4. 40: "Et *mansit ibi* duos *dies.*"

Hist. 9. 4 (Faral, chap. 147). Cheered by archbishop Dubric's speech against the Saxons the Britons rushed to arm themselves. As for Arthur, he put on (*indutus*) a coat of mail (*lorica*) worthy of so great a king; on his head (*capiti*) he set a golden helmet (*galea*) with a figure of a dragon engraved on it and on his shoulders his shield, Pridwen, with the image of the Blessed Mary painted upon it. Finally, "*Accinctus* etiam Caliburno, *gladio* optimo et in insula Avallonis *fabricato*," he graced his right hand with his lance, called Ron.

From Nennius, as is known (chap. 56), Geoffrey derived the fact that in the eighth battle against the Saxons Arthur "portavit imaginem sanctae Mariae perpetuae virginis super humeros suos." But from what source, the names of the weapons excepted, did Geoffrey, in part at least, derive the picture of the rest of Arthur's armour? I think from the Scriptures. Cf. 1 *Reg.* 17. 38-39: "Et *induit* Saul David vestimentis suis, et imposuit *galeam* aeream super *caput* eius, et vestivit eum *lorica*. *Accinctus* ergo David *gladio* eius super vestem suam, coepit tentare si armatus posset incedere." 2 *Reg.* 20. 8: "Porro Joab vestitus erat tunica stricta ad mensuram habitus sui, et desuper *accinctus gladio* . . . qui *fabricatus* levi motu egredi poterat et percutere."

These two passages contain the same phraseology as the passage of Geoffrey: *induere*, *lorica*, *galea*, *gladius*, *fabricatus*,

[1] Cf. also *Hist.* 1. 6 (Faral, chap. 10): . . . "turmas . . . *in circuitu* locavit."

and like David and Joab, Arthur is "*Accinctus gladio.*" All this, it seems to me, is not accidental.

Hist. 9. 9 (Faral, chap. 152). After granting pardon to the Scots, Arthur restored their former honours to his nobles, among them to three brothers. Geoffrey says: "*Erant ibi tres* fratres *regali* prosapia orti Loth videlicet atque Urianus, necnon et Auguselus. . . ." Cf. 2 *Reg.* 2. 18: "*Erant* autem *ibi tres* filii . . . Joab, et Abisai et Asael." For "*regali* . . . orti," cf. perhaps *Jer.* 41. 1: ". . . Ismahel . . . de semine *regali.*"

Hist. 9. 10 (Faral, chap. 154). After adding to his realm Ireland, Iceland and other islands, Arthur invited to his court all that were distinguished for their valour. "Denique, *fama* largitatis *atque probitatis illius*, per extremos *mundi cardines divulgata*,[1] reges . . . invadebat timor. . . ." With this we may compare *Esther* 9. 4: "*Fama* quoque *nominis eius* crescebat quotidie, et per cunctorum ora volitatat"; 2 *Mac.* 8. 7: ". . . et *fama virtutis eius ubique* diffundebatur"; 2 *Mac.* 4. 39: "*divulgata fama*"; *Luke* 4. 37: "Et *divulgabatur fama* de *illo* in omnem locum regionis." For "*cardines mundi*," cp. 1 *Reg.* 2. 8: "*cardines terrae*"; *Prov.* 8. 26: "*cardines orbis terrae.*"

Hist. 10. 5 (Faral, chap. 167). The Romans hid in a place intending to ambush the Britons, who "*Mane autem facto* . . . viam ineunt. . . ." Cf. *Iud.* 19. 8: "*Mane autem facto*"; also *Iud.* 19. 27; *Matth.* 27. 1 and *John* 21. 4.

Hist. 12. 4 (Faral, chap. 193). Vanquished by Edwin, Cadwallo, accompanied by Brian, landed after a shipwreck on the island of Garnareia. Here he was seized with a desire for venison. Unable to secure it, Brian cut a piece of his own thigh, roasted it and gave it to Cadwallo, who "Satiatus tandem *hilarior factus est* et levior. . . ." Cf. *Ruth* 3. 7: "Cumque *comedisset* Booz *et bibesset*, et *factus esset hilarior*, issetque ad dormiendum."

Hist. 12. 13 (Faral, chap. 201). After Cadwallo's death, the Britons embalmed his body and placed it in a brazen statue

[1] Cf. also *Hist.* 1. 3 (Faral, chap. 7): "*Divulgata* itaque per universas nationes ipsius (Bruti) *fama* . . . ."

"*ad mensuram staturae suae fusa.*" Cf. 2 *Reg.* 20. 8: "Joab . . . vestitus . . . tunica stricta *ad mensuram habitus sui.* . . ."

The passages listed in this paper (and there are many more) clearly show that the Bible exerted a powerful influence upon Geoffrey. Though he introduced some biblical passages verbatim into the fabric of his narrative and brought in others with some modifications and, though scriptural phrases are found scattered throughout the *Historia*, this does not mean that Geoffrey copied these passages and phrases. When one takes into consideration to what degree the Middle Ages had to rely on memory, it is more likely that Geoffrey quoted them from his memory,—a memory which surely has not been impaired, as modern memories are, by print.[1]

Moreover, from some biblical motifs and situations he derived general ideas of various incidents which he recast, recoloured, expanded and sometimes combined with an incident from another source. But while he succeeded to a remarkable degree in remodelling and reconstructing statements from other sources—a method which renders the study of his borrowings and imitations so difficult,—he was less successful in applying this procedure to the material drawn from the Scriptures. The reason for this is not far to seek: the Bible was an integral part of Geoffrey's spiritual background and consciousness. Hence the deeper imprint upon his work and upon its language.

[1] Cf. H. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print*, p. 116 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1945).

THE LIFE OF JESUS: A SURVEY OF THE AVAILABLE MATERIAL (5) THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

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TO the searcher for materials for the Life of Jesus the Fourth Gospel is either no problem at all or the most baffling of all. We may say, for example, 'The question is decided. The Gospel of John is inferior to the Synoptics as a historical source just in proportion as it is more strongly dominated than they by theological and apologetic interests';[1] or, in the words of one of the acutest and most learned New Testament scholars of our time, 'John may contain a few remnants of true tradition, but in the main it is fiction'.[2]

If we take this line we may easily come to the conclusion that the Fourth Gospel should be left on one side and that our attempts to write the Life of Jesus should, in general, ignore it. Alternatively we may decide to see what can be elicited from this document and attempt to assess its value. We are at once confronted by a series of puzzles, most of which still await a convincing solution. The questions touch every side of literary and historical criticism—date and place, authorship, sources, original language, relation to the other Gospels, and so on. To all these matters an immense amount of labour and learning has been dedicated—so much so that a bare survey of what has been done would easily occupy a whole series of Rylands Lectures. For excellent accounts of the progress of research on the problems we can refer to the works of Principal W. F. Howard[3] and, more recently, Professor P. H. Menoud.[4] I must be content with the more modest task of indicating some

[1] A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*,[2] 1911, 87.
[2] Kirsopp Lake in *The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book*, 431.
[3] *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation.*
[4] *L'Évangile de Jean d'après les recherches récentes* (Neuchâtel and Paris, 1943).

questions that seem to be worth asking and some lines of research that may produce useful results. I have no ready-made solution of the ' Johannine Problem ', only some paths on which we may travel hopefully, though without guarantees that they will not turn out to be blind alleys.

We have first to consider the external attestation of the Gospel, and we begin with the statement in the *Muratorian Canon*, which may be taken to give the views accepted in Rome at the end of the second century.[1] It is as follows :—

> The fourth of the Gospels is that of John, one of the Disciples. He, when his fellow-disciples and bishops were urging him, said, ' Fast with me for three days beginning to-day, and let us report to each other what is revealed to each '. On that very night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles, that John should write the whole story in his own name with the authentication of them all.
>
> And, therefore, even though the opening narratives are different in the individual Gospel books, nevertheless it makes no difference to the faith of believers, since by the one directing Spirit in all (four jointly) all (essentials) are set forth concerning the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Intercourse with his Disciples, and his twofold Advent, the first in despised humility, which has taken place, the second in splendid kingly power, which is still to come.
>
> What wonder, then, that John so deliberately gives prominence to these particulars in his Epistles, saying of himself, ' What we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these things we have written to you '. For thus he claims to be not only an eyewitness and hearer but also the writer of an orderly account of all the wonderful doings of the Lord.

Elsewhere in the *Muratorianum* John is mentioned as the author of two Epistles [2] and the Apocalypse. It would seem

[1] I follow the text as edited by Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, ii. 139, with reference also to Lagrange, *Histoire Ancienne du Canon du Nouveau Testament*, 66-78, and *Évangile selon S. Jean*,[4] lxii. ff.

[2] On this see my article in *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1947.

that the writer believed the Apocalypse to be earlier in date than the Pauline Epistles since he speaks of Paul's having followed the order of his predecessor John in writing by name to seven Churches only.

The first paragraph on the Fourth Gospel presents us with a picture of the Evangelist as a member, and perhaps the leading member, of a group of 'Disciples' and 'Bishops'. As the whole emphasis of the passage is on the claim that the Gospel gives first-hand information about the Ministry, we should probably take 'Disciples' to mean followers of Jesus during the Ministry. It may be supposed that 'Bishops' means members of the group having definite ecclesiastical responsibilities at the relevant time. It would not follow that all former Disciples were now Bishops or that all the Bishops concerned were former Disciples, though doubtless it is implied that a number were both Disciples and Bishops. The request of these men that John should write a gospel is at once confirmed by a Divine revelation.[1] John is to write the book and they are to authenticate it. The second paragraph tackles the well-known problem created by the discrepancies between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics and points out that, however much the Gospels may differ about details, they combine to give the essentials of the Faith. The third paragraph, without saying it in so many words, suggests that John's order of events is to be preferred to the Synoptic, where they conflict. His personal relations with the Master may be presumed to give him the right to be heard both on the central matters of the *kerygma* and on the detailed course of events in the Ministry.

The passage as a whole gives one the impression that it is a defence of the Fourth Gospel against those who were attacking it. It is not difficult to guess who they were. In Rome it was one Gaius who, at the end of the second century or the beginning of the third, denied the authenticity of the Gospel in the course of his campaign against Montanism.[2] One of

[1] The prominent part assigned to Andrew in this matter is on all fours with his prominence in the Fourth Gospel itself as compared with his position in the Synoptics. See Moffatt, *Introd.*[3] 564.

[2] Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon S. Jean*, lv.-lxi.; P. de Labriolle, *La Crise Montaniste*, 131-5, 191 f., 278-85; Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. Altkirchl. Lit.*, i. 432 ff.

the objections urged by the critics of John was his disagreement with the Synoptics, a point which is taken up and answered in our text. And it is noteworthy that the main opposition to Gaius came from Hippolytus, who is now widely regarded as the author of the *Muratorianum*.[1]

The *Anti-Marcionite Prologues* also deal with the Fourth Gospel. The concluding paragraph of the Prologue to Luke states that the evangelist subsequently wrote the Acts of the Apostles. It continues: 'Afterwards John the Apostle' [the Greek adds 'one of the Twelve'] 'wrote the Apocalypse in the island of Patmos, and after that the Gospel' [the Latin adds 'in Asia']. The John-Prologue proper is as follows:—

> The Gospel of John was published and given to the Churches by John still present in the body, as Papias, entitled Hierapolitanus, the beloved disciple of John related in the *Five Exegetical Books;* indeed he (Papias) took down the Gospel, John dictating accurately. But the heretic Marcion, when he had been condemned by him (Papias) because he held opposed views, was expelled. He (Marcion) indeed had brought documents or letters to him (Papias) from the brethren who were in Pontus.

This Prologue, taken along with the closing sentence of the Luke-Prologue, maintains the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The work was completed and published during the lifetime of John. The emphatic *adhuc in corpore constituto* is pointless unless there were those who claimed that John was already dead before the publication of the Gospel attributed to him. The Prologue appeals to the writings of Papias, and mentions the Church of which he was Bishop, no doubt as evidence of his reliability as a witness. It remains odd that Eusebius, who quotes Papias on Gospel origins and had access to the *Five Exegetical Books*, does not mention any of the matters recorded in this Prologue. In any case it is most unlikely that the story of the dictation to Papias appeared in the *Exegeses*, or that it is true. The story about Marcion may well be Asian tradition; and it may be surmised that the whole

[1] Altaner, *Patrologie*, 83.

Prologue gives traditions of Asian origin, and that the reference to the *Exegeses* is no more than a guess, and a wrong one.

From Alexandria the earliest testimony is that of Clement,[1] who is said to be reporting the tradition of 'the original elders' (*τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων*). According to this 'John was the last (to write), conscious that the matters of fact (*τὰ σωματικά*) had been set forth in the (other) Gospels, and, urged on by the disciples, under divine inspiration he produced a spiritual Gospel.'

Who the 'original elders' were we can only guess. Their tradition may be the old tradition of the Alexandrian Church, or it may come from farther afield. The interesting thing is the agreement between Clement's tradition and that of the *Muratorianum* on the point that the composition of the Gospel was undertaken in response to an appeal from disciples.[2] The problem remains: whose disciples? The account in Clement would suggest that it was the Evangelist's own disciples who asked for a written Gospel. In the *Muratorianum*, on the other hand, the wording definitely favours the idea that it is disciples of the Lord who are meant.

Irenaeus, as quoted by Eusebius,[3] tells us of the composition of the first three Gospels, and then continues:

> Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, the same who leant back on his breast—he too set forth the Gospel, while residing at Ephesus in Asia.

Eusebius later[4] quotes from the letter of Irenaeus to Florinus a passage in which the Bishop of Lyons describes his boyhood in 'Lower Asia', and how he saw and heard Polycarp the venerable Bishop of Smyrna, and in particular how Polycarp 'would tell of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, how he would relate from memory their words; and what the things were which he had heard from them concerning the Lord, his mighty works and his teaching,

[1] Given by Eusebius, *H.E.* vi. 14. 7.

[2] So I translate *τῶν γνωρίμων*. Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* iv. 460; Justin, I *Apol.* 32. On the use of the term 'disciple' in the early Church, Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*,[3] i. 382-4.

[3] *H.E.* v. 8. 4 (Lawlor and Oulton's translation). Cf. *adu. Haer.* III. 1. 1.

[4] *H.E.* v. 20.

Polycarp, as having received them from the eyewitnesses of the Life of the Word, would declare altogether in accordance with the Scriptures'. It is clear from these passages that Irenaeus in his later life identified the John, of whom he had heard Polycarp speak in his boyhood, with the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee, and the disciple whom Jesus loved. The question is whether his memory is reliable, whether, in fact, the John of whom Polycarp spoke was the Apostle or another Christian leader who happened to have the same name.

The question becomes more acute when we consider the early quotations from and allusions to the Fourth Gospel.[1] The most striking fact is their scarcity, and that in places where we should have expected to find them. Polycarp [2] of Smyrna, who, according to Irenaeus, was a disciple of John, has nothing that can fairly be described as a quotation from the Fourth Gospel, and the one possible allusion does not carry conviction. Ignatius of Antioch, who wrote a letter to the Ephesians, failed to mention John in it, though if Irenaeus is right the work of John was both more recent and more prolonged at Ephesus than that of Paul, to whom he does refer. Moreover, while the letters of Ignatius are full of ideas of a Johannine cast there is nothing to show that he knew the Fourth Gospel. Mr. Sanders sums up a careful and detailed discussion by saying : [3]

> 'Nothing in these passages proves conclusively that Ignatius knew or used the Fourth Gospel as we have it, but it seems clear that there is a fairly close affinity between his theology and language and those of the Fourth Gospel. . . . But as against these points of similarity, there are significant differences, as for instance in the treatment of the Holy Spirit. There is enough agreement to make it probable that behind them both lies a common tradition of theological thought and language, perhaps even that Ignatius was acquainted with some written summary of

[1] These have recently been the subject of a fresh and illuminating study by J. N. Sanders (1943).

[2] For a detailed discussion of Polycarp's use of the New Testament see *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, 84-104 ; P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians*, 285-310, 327-335.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 14. Cf. *N.T. in Apost. Fathers*, 63-83 ; Harrison, *op. cit.* 231-266.

> our Lord's teaching used by the author of the Gospel (if any such work existed). But one cannot say with any certainty that Ignatius knew our Fourth Gospel.'

We move on into the middle of the second century. Polycarp (martyred A.D. 156), who according to Irenaeus was a disciple of John, does not mention him; and, while his letter to the Philippians has one passage which looks like a quotation from 1 John, there is nothing to show that he was acquainted with the Gospel.

Justin (martyred about A.D. 165), born in Palestine, was converted to Christianity probably about A.D. 130 and, it may be, at Ephesus, the reputed home of the Fourth Gospel. Wherever his conversion took place we have the authority of Eusebius for saying that he was settled at Ephesus in the thirties of the second century.[1] His works show considerable affinity with Johannine thought; but there are far-reaching differences.[2] Moreover, while Justin has frequent recourse to the Synoptic tradition, his references to the Fourth Gospel are few, slight, and not of a sort to suggest direct quotation.[3] As Mr. Sanders justly says, this 'relative scarcity of quotations from the Fourth Gospel is the more surprising as Justin misses many obvious opportunities of quoting or alluding to the Fourth Gospel in support of his conclusions, which in that case can hardly be derived from the Gospel'.[4]

The perplexing and important fact that emerges is that quotations are absent in those places where we should most confidently look for them if the Fourth Gospel was composed in Ephesus about A.D. 100 by John the Apostle. No theory about the Gospel that fails to give an explanation of the phenomena presented by the writings of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Justin has much chance of survival.

[1] *H.E.* iv. 18. 6. Cf. Justin, *Dial*, § 1.

[2] See, for example, Listzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, ii. 182-6; Sanders, *op. cit.* 31 f.

[3] The nearest thing to a quotation is perhaps *I Apol.* lxi. 4: *καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν. Ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*, which may be a mixed reminiscence of John iii. 3 and 5. Other cases are less impressive.

[4] *Op. cit.* 32.

We have clear evidence of the existence of the Gospel from other sources. The Valentinian Gnostic Heracleon, who flourished about A.D. 145-180,[1] wrote a commentary on it, of which fragments survive. There is also good reason to think that the earliest form of Montanist teaching, including the oracles of Montanus himself, was dependent on the Fourth Gospel. The rise of Montanism belongs to the third quarter of the second century.[2] But perhaps the most interesting development in recent times is the way in which palæography has come to take a hand in the dating of the Gospel. I refer, of course, to the two papyrus fragments published shortly before the war. The one, P. Egerton 2, preserved in the British Museum, is a fragment of an apocryphal gospel, the author of which almost certainly made use of John.[3] The writing of this fragment is dated on palæographical grounds about the middle of the second century (A.D. 140-160). The composition of the Apocryphal Gospel is therefore earlier: the Editors of the fragment considered that it might be thirty years earlier (c. A.D. 110-130). The composition of the Fourth Gospel would then be earlier still.

The second papyrus fragment, P. Ryl. Gk. 457, is one of the chief treasures of this Library.[4] It contains verses of John xviii and is assigned by palæographers to the first half of the second century. That is to say, if we can trust the judgement of the experts—and there is no good reason why we should not—P. Ryl. Gk. 457, and probably a good many of its palæographical kinsfolk, was in existence during the lifetimes of Polycarp and Justin. If Justin does not quote from John it is not because there were no copies of the Gospel available.[5]

[1] Bardenhewer, *G.A.L.* i. 360. Cf. A. E. Brooke, *The Fragments of Heracleon.*

[2] On the chronology of Montanism cf. Harnack, *Chronologie* i. 363-381; P. de Labriolle, *La Crise Montaniste*, 569-589. On the Montanist appeal to the Fourth Gospel, Labriolle, *op. cit.* 38-43, 131-135.

[3] Bell and Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel* (1935) and *The New Gospel Fragments* (1935); C. H. Dodd, *A New Gospel* in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, January 1936; T. W. Manson in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, 1937, 130 ff.

[4] C. H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel* (1935); *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library*, iii (1938), 1-3.

[5] I leave the case of Polycarp on one side as the question of the date of his correspondence with the Philippians is still in debate.

The results of a study of the external evidence are thus somewhat disappointing. It seems clear that the Gospel was in existence in the first half of the second century, how early in that period we cannot say with any certainty. It is probable that it was associated with the name of John, and certain that towards the end of the century Church opinion had settled down to the view that this John was to be identified with John the Apostle.[1]

I turn now to the internal evidence. Here there is a good deal of well-trodden ground, which I do not propose to go over again, as I have no fresh observations to make. I confine myself to those matters where there seems to be possibility of progress in our investigations. I take first the question of the literary unity of the Gospel. This was made the subject of a thorough and methodical study by Eduard Schweizer in a book published in 1939.[2] Schweizer began with a carefully selected set of characteristic marks of the Johannine style and then went

[1] This identification would at once break down if it could be shown that John the Apostle died a martyr's death at some time before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The evidence for this is not of a very convincing kind; and I do not propose to go over it again here. I will make only two remarks. (1) What is often taken to be the strongest argument for the supposed martyrdom of John is the prophecy in Mk. x. 39; and it cannot be used to any purpose without committing a glaring *petitio principii*. For it is either a true prophecy (so R. H. Charles, *Revelation*, i. p. xlv, n. 2) or a *vaticinium ex eventu* (so many who use it to prove the early death of John). In either case the answer to the question 'How do we know that John was martyred?' is 'From Mk. x. 39 (a true prophecy or a prophecy after the event, as the case may be)'. 'Then how do we know that Mk. x. 39 is a true prophecy (or a *vaticinium ex eventu*)?' 'Because John was in fact martyred.' The argument is a perfect circle. The only escape from the circle is by producing independent evidence for the martyrdom of John. But if that can be done, the evidence of Mk. x. 39 at once becomes superfluous. There is no escape from the conclusion that the argument from Mk. x. 39 is either circular or unnecessary. (2) Although I think the evidence for an early martyrdom of the Apostle to be of very little value, I have no better opinion of the evidence for his prolonged residence, or indeed any residence at all, at Ephesus. That there was someone called John at Ephesus and that he played an influential part in the life of the Church in Asia, seems more than likely. That this person was the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee, I do not believe.

[2] E. Schweizer, *Ego Eimi*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht, 1939 (Forschungen zur Religion u. Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, N.F., 38 Heft). The important part of the work for our present purpose is pp. 82-112.

on to examine their distribution in the Gospel. The results of the study can be set out in four propositions :

1. The style is in essentials one throughout the book. This stylistic unity lies not in an earlier document but in the final composition.

2. The author probably used traditional material which may have been in written form. But he has made it so much his own stylistically that it cannot be analysed out.

3. The Gospel as a whole is a unity on which the author has imposed his style and spirit.

4. These conclusions are only well-grounded working hypotheses, not settled and certain results.[1]

There are two other observations of Schweizer's which should be noted. First we have the areas of the Gospel where the stylistic characteristics are absent or scarce. These are the wedding at Cana (ii. 1-10) ; the cleansing of the Temple (ii. 13-19) ; the latter part of the conversation with the Samaritan woman and the stay in Galilee (iv. 16-53) ; the anointing at Bethany (xii. 1-8) ; the Triumphal Entry (xii. 12-15) ; and the *Pericope de Adultera* (vii. 53-viii. 11). The last of these is already rejected on textual grounds and the main interest of the stylistic test is that it confirms the decision of the textual critic. It will be noticed that almost all this material is narrative and that much of it has parallels in the Synoptics. The second point is the opinion expressed by Schweizer on page 107 that the Evangelist most probably used sources and that he may have had a collection of narratives and/or one of speeches. 'As the style of 1 John agrees with the elevated style of the speeches in the Gospel (and essentially with this alone) we should probably prefer to assume a source for the narratives, unless we are prepared to postulate a Discourse-source for the First Epistle as well as the Gospel.'

Schweizer's method has been carried further by P. H. Menoud [2] and E. Ruckstuhl.[3] The position seems now to be that we must think of the Gospel as bearing the impress throughout of a single mind expressing itself in a uniform Greek style.

[1] *Op. cit.*, 108. [2] *Op. cit.*

[3] Literarkritik am Johannesevangelium und eucharistische Rede in *Divus Thomas*, 1945, pp. 153-190, 301-333.

This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that there may be interpolations (the *Pericope de Adultera* is the most notorious) and displacements. It is also allowed that the Evangelist probably made use of sources. If he did, it becomes extremely unlikely that he was the eyewitness Apostle.

To the question of sources one answer has been strongly urged in recent years, that of a single Aramaic document, of which the existing Greek Gospel is a translation. This hypothesis was put forward with many supporting arguments by C. F. Burney in 1922 in his book *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel.*[1] The case was further fortified in *The Poetry of Our Lord* (1925), in which Burney argued that much of the teaching of Jesus was delivered in the forms of Semitic poetry, producing examples from the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel. When Burney's first work was published it was observed that his evidences of Aramaism in John were not evenly distributed throughout the Gospel. They are found in the following blocks :—

i. 1-34 ; ii. 13-22 ; iii. 1-36 ; iv. 1-26, 31-38 ; v. 1-47 ; vi. 22-71 ; vii. 14-24, 32-52 ; viii. 12-59 ; ix. 8-41 ; x. 1-18, 22-39 ; xi. 1-44, 47-53 ; xii. 20-50 ; xiii. 1-30 ; xiv. 1-4, 8-21, 25-31 ; xv. 1-27 ; xvi. 1-15, 25-33 ; xvii. 1-26 ; xviii. 1-11, 19-24, 28-37 ; xix. 1-16, 31-37.

They are absent from :—

i. 35-ii. 12 ; ii. 23-25 ; iv. 27-30, 39-54 ; vi. 1-21 ;[2] vii. 1-13, 25-31 ; ix. 1-7 ; x. 19-21, 40-42 ; xi. 45-46, 54-57 ; xii. 1-19 ; xiii. 31-38 ; xiv. 5-7, 22-24 ; xvi. 16-24 ; xviii. 12-18, 25-27, 38-40 ; xix. 17-30, 38-42 ; xx. 1-xxi. 25.[3]

It is observed that a large proportion of the non-Aramaising sections are narrative and that many have parallels in the synoptic Gospels. Further we find that the vast majority of the

[1] The case for an Aramaic original is also argued by C. C. Torrey in "The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John" (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* xvi. (1923), 305–44 ; *The Four Gospels, a New Translation* ; and *Our Translated Gospels.*

[2] It is to be noted that if Chs. v. and vi. are transposed, iv. 39-54 and vi. 1-21 form a single block of material without Aramaisms.

[3] In order to avoid any arbitrariness the units into which I divide the Gospel for the purpose of reckoning presence or absence of Aramaisms are the paragraphs of Westcott and Hort's text. A block here may include several paragraphs of Westcott and Hort ; but no paragraph is divided between blocks.

passages which Burney adduces as evidence of Semitic poetic form in John come from the sections in which Aramaisms are recorded.

At this point we must take into account another element in the problem; that of the relations between the Gospel and the First Epistle. The Epistle was examined by the Manchester University Hellenistic Seminar, and it was found that the Aramaisms discovered by Burney in the Gospel were absent from the Epistle. A further point to be noted is the fact that whereas quotations from the Old Testament are found in the Gospel, the Epistle shows none. Again, while the Gospel and the Epistle share many ideas and have many words and phrases in common, there is a not inconsiderable difference in their vocabulary. For example the following terms are frequently used in the Gospel, but not at all in the Epistle: *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, *δόξα*, *δοξάζειν*. The curious thing is that of the twenty Old Testament quotations in the Gospel no fewer than sixteen occur in sections marked by the presence of Aramaisms; of the thirteen cases of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, twelve are in such passages, as are eighteen of the nineteen examples of *δόξα* and twenty of the twenty-three cases of *δοξάζειν*.[1] That is to say, some of the most striking differences between the Gospel and

[1] For the sake of completeness I give the results of an examination of the long list of words found in the Gospel but not in the Epistle and brought forward by Professor Dodd as part of the case for separate authorship (RYLANDS BULLETIN, xxi. (1937), 139 f.). After each word or group of words I give the number of occurrences in the Aramaising sections of the Gospel and then, separated by an oblique stroke, the number of occurrences in non-Aramaising sections:—

σώζειν and *σωτηρία* 7/0; *ἀπολλύναι* and *ἀπώλεια* 10/1, *ἀνιστάναι*, *ἀνάστασις*, *ζωοποιεῖν* 14/1, *εἰρήνη* 3/3 (these three are all cases of the conventional greeting *εἰρήνη ὑμῖν*), *χάρις* 4/0, *ἁγιάζειν* 4/0, *προσκύνειν* 11/0, *δεῖ* 8/2, *γραφή*, *γράμματα*, *γράφειν* (of the Scriptures) 16/6, *νόμος* 13/1, *κρίνειν*, *κρίσις* 30/0, *δόξα* 18/1, *δοξάζειν* 20/3, *ἀναβαίνειν* 7/8, *καταβαίνειν* 12/6, *ἄνω*, *ἄνωθεν* 5/3, *ὑψοῦν* 5/0, *θέλημα* 11/0, *ἐξουσία* 8/0, *πέμπειν* 28/4, *ῥῆμα* 11/1, *φιλεῖν*, *φίλος* 13/6, *τιμᾶν* 6/0, *ζητεῖν* 24/10, *καρπός* 10/0, *δοκεῖν* 6/2, *ἴδιος* 12/3.

These figures seem to me to be highly significant. They greatly strengthen the case for regarding this division into Aramaising and non-Aramaising sections as fundamentally sound. I should add that I have left out of account one word in Dodd's list, *κύριος*. A very large proportion of the examples in the Gospel are the vocative *κύριε* in dialogue, for which there would, of course, be no need in the Epistle.

the Epistle turn out on closer examination to be differences between the Aramaising half of the Gospel and the Epistle; and it is open to us to entertain the hypothesis that the Epistle is the work of a writer composing freely and the Gospel the work of the same writer with his style to some extent controlled by the material which he has to incorporate into his book. I venture to think that this is a possibility that deserves more detailed consideration than I am able to give to it here.

I have alluded to the fact that in a considerable number of cases the absence of Aramaisms and the presence of Synoptic parallels coincide. The whole question of the relation of John to the Synoptics has been reopened by the short but very important book by P. Gardner-Smith entitled *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels* (1938). Here it is argued (and the argument, based as it is on detailed examination of all the parallelisms between John and the Synoptics, appears to be cogent) that 'when all the facts are taken into consideration it becomes difficult to believe that the author of the Fourth Gospel was familiar with those Gospels which are generally thought to have been written and given to the Church before he undertook his task'.[1] It follows that the Fourth Gospel may be regarded 'as an independent authority for the life of Jesus, or at least for the traditions current in the Christian Church in the second half of the first century'.[2] Similarities of a striking nature between Luke and John may be due to their common employment of the same developed traditions at certain points of the story. This also is a matter that deserves fuller consideration and investigation in the light of the points already brought forward in this paper.

In this connection there are a number of topics that call for discussion. Here it must suffice to indicate them in a general way.

First there is the question of the disagreements between John and the Synoptics. They are well known, so well known that there is no need to repeat them all once more. All that I want to emphasise is that it is no longer possible to say 'If the Fourth Gospel contradicts the Synoptics, so much the worse for the Fourth Gospel'. Each case must be considered purely

[1] *Op. cit.*, 88. [2] *Op. cit.*, 96.

on its merits. If this is done in the case of the cleansing of the Temple, which John places near the beginning of the Ministry, and Mark near the end, we shall probably reject the desperate solution of two cleansings; and, when that is done, and we have to choose between John and Mark, I suppose that most scholars would give their votes in favour of Mark. On the other hand, when it comes to the question of the nature of the Last Supper, and the dating of the Crucifixion, a very strong case can be made for the view that John's dating is right.[1] But if John is right on a matter of capital importance such as this is, he has *eo ipso* established an indisputable claim to a full and unprejudiced hearing on every other point; and his evidence must be seriously considered as possible independent confirmation, where it agrees with the Synoptic tradition, and as a possible alternative where it does not.

But if the Fourth Gospel contains an independent strain of tradition concerning the public career of our Lord, we are bound to enquire into its provenance. On this question we are not without indications: I mention a few which seem to me to be relevant and significant.

First I should put the growing conviction that the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John are fundamentally Hebraic rather than Hellenic in character. To take a single and crucial example, the Johannine Logos doctrine: whatever branches may have been grafted in from the contemporary thought of the Graeco-Roman world, it is, I think, indisputable that the roots of the doctrine are in the Old Testament and that its main stem is the *dᵉbar Yahweh*, the creative and revealing Word of God, by which the heavens and the earth were made and the prophets inspired. What is true of large matters is also true of points of detail. In an article on 'The Argument from Prophecy',[2] I have argued that the use of the brazen serpent (Num. xxi. 9) as a type of the crucifixion goes back to the preaching of the Palestinian Christians, and that this argument,

[1] See the brief but masterly statement of the case by J. K. Fotheringham in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xxxv. (1934), 155-162, and the fuller, more detailed, and equally decisive discussion by G. Ogg, *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus* (1940), 203-285.

[2] *J.T.S.* xlvi, (1945), 129-136.

along with a similar one derived from the story of Moses' hands being held up during the battle between Israel and the Amalekites was replied to by R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (*fl.* c. A.D. 90). The conclusion reached in that article was as follows: 'Since Eliezer is a first-century Palestinian Rabbi, it seems clear that we have to do in John iii. 14 and Mishnah *R.H.* iii. 8 with Palestinian Christian proofs and Palestinian Jewish rebuttals. So, whatever we may think about the authorship, date, and place of writing of the Fourth Gospel, here is one more piece of evidence of its dependence on Palestinian materials.'

Secondly, we have to consider a number of pieces of evidence pointed out by Professor Dodd in his admirable commentary on the Johannine Epistles.[1] As, unlike Dodd, I think the Gospel and First Epistle to be the work of one man I have no qualms about using this evidence here. He notes (1) the similarity between the Confession of Faith in 1 John ii. 22 and iv. 15 and the terms of Peter's Confession in Matt. xvi. 16 (p. 57); (2) the collocation of the ideas of sonship of God and vision of God in 1 John iii. 1 f. and Matt. v. 8 f.; (3) hatred and murder linked in 1 John iii. 12-15 and Matt. v. 21 f.; (4) the idea of the easy yoke in 1 John v. 3*b* and Matt. xi. 30 (pp. 69 ff.). It is to be emphasised that all these links are between 1 John and Matthew, the (?) Antiochene Gospel, and, within the Gospel, to passages or turns of expression that are peculiar to it, and assignable to the M. strain of the Synoptic tradition.

Thirdly, I think we can point to another link between the Johannine literature and Syria. I have discussed this at length in an article appearing in the April issue of the *Journal of Theological Studies*. Briefly the point is that in the Acts of the Apostles we are shown a variety of modes of entry into the Christian Church, the main difference being on the question whether reception of the Holy Spirit precedes or follows baptism. This difference corresponds to a difference of liturgical usage between the Syrian Church and the rest of Christendom. In the Syrian Church the order of events in Christian initiation is unction (or chrismation—what is later called confirmation), baptism, admission to first communion; elsewhere the order is baptism,

[1] C. H. Dodd, *The Johannine Epistles* (Moffatt Commentary), 1946.

unction, first communion. It is argued that in 1 John v. 7 f. the three witnesses, the Spirit, the water, and the blood, are a reference to the three stages of initiation—*in the Syrian order.* If this is so, we have another signpost pointing towards Antioch.

Fourthly, we have the remarkable affinity of theological ideas between the Johannine literature and the letters of Ignatius *of Antioch,* coupled with the equally striking absence from Ignatius of anything that can be confidently claimed as a quotation from the Fourth Gospel.

Fifthly, there is the remarkably Johannine-sounding passage, Matt. xi. 25-27 = Lk. x. 21-22, whose credentials as an integral part of Q are quite unimpeachable. There are independent grounds for thinking that Q was a document, perhaps the earliest document, of the Antiochene Church.

Sixthly, there is the fact that the oldest, and in some ways the most striking, support for the Johannine dating of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion comes from the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians,[1] a letter written at Ephesus by a missionary whose home base was Antioch.

All these lines of argument converge on a single conclusion : that we should seriously consider Sanday's suggestion [2] that there was ' an anticipatory stage of Johannean teaching, localised somewhere in Syria, before the Apostle reached his final home in Ephesus '. Probably we should now state the hypothesis in somewhat different terms. Very tentatively I should suggest that we have to reckon with a body of tradition of which the original home is Jerusalem, and for which the primary authority is an anonymous disciple of Jesus, not necessarily to be identified with John, the son of Zebedee, or any other of the Apostles. This tradition consisted of both matters of fact and teachings. It found its way, in the first instance to Antioch, where it left its mark on documents which we have reason to connect with that centre, on the liturgical usage of the Syrian Church, and on the teaching both of the missionaries who went out from Antioch (e.g. St. Paul) and of those who subsequently had the leadership of the Antiochene community itself (Ignatius).

[1] The passages in question are 1 Cor. v. 7 f. ; xv. 20.

[2] *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel,* p. 199.

From Antioch it moved to Ephesus ;[1] and it is at Ephesus that the final literary formulation was achieved in the Gospel and Epistles attributed to John. How much of this long road was travelled in person by the original custodian of the tradition ; how much he (or his disciples) added on the way as the result of meditation on what was given, or of contact with other religious and philosophical ideas ;—these are questions to which no cut-and-dried answer is possible. What is important is that we should be prepared to reconsider our whole attitude to the Fourth Gospel and to reckon seriously with the fact that it contains some material, perhaps more than we yet realise, whose value for historical purposes is as high as anything in the Synoptics. The detailed examination of the Gospel in search of such material will be a difficult and delicate task ; but there is no longer any need to assume beforehand that it will be wasted labour.

The upshot of the whole discussion conducted in this series of Rylands Lectures may be stated somewhat as follows. We are confronted in the first place by a Person and a Life of such magnitude and power as to create a movement that has lasted for two thousand years and appears still to have unlimited resources for the renewal of its life and the reinvigoration of its activity. One of the principal early by-products of this new movement was a series of streams of tradition about the Founder-Person and his public career. These streams of tradition have their original sources in Galilee and Jerusalem (including Judaea and Peraea), the scenes of the Ministry ; and in the course of their flow they form, as it were, small lakes of standing tradition at various centres of Christian Church life. The first of these of which we have any clear trace was formed probably at Antioch about A.D. 50. This we call Q. It may be associated with the Apostle Matthew. At Antioch also we can locate a body of ' Johannine ' tradition and (perhaps between

[1] I think we should look on Ephesus not simply as a place where Paul did missionary work and therefore to be put in the same class as Athens, Corinth, Philippi, and Thessalonica ; but rather as a second missionary base or advanced headquarters and so to be classed with Antioch. If Paul's plans had matured in the way he wished, there would have been a third base at Rome, from which he would have pushed on to Spain.

60 and 70) another which supplied the material peculiar to Matthew (M). This M tradition along with Q, was used to produce the revised and enlarged edition of Mark which we know as the Gospel of Matthew, and may regard as the Antiochene Gospel. The earliest form of the Antiochene tradition reappears at Ephesus in Paul's letters: it may be that he brought it there in the first instance. Later on we find the Johannine tradition of Antioch taking literary form at Ephesus in the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles, and at Antioch in the letters of Ignatius. Another reservoir of tradition was formed, we may suppose, at Caesarea; and it is a plausible suggestion that it was from this that Luke drew that part of his material that we call L. This in combination with Q may well have formed the first, and catechetical, draft of Luke's Gospel (Proto-Luke), which later (A.D. 70-75), by the addition of extracts from Mark, was to become the first part of a public apologia for the new religion. In Rome another body of tradition issued from the teaching of Peter and took literary form in the Gospel of Mark about A.D. 58.

In the result we have five streams of tradition:

(1) the 'Logia'-tradition (Q), which we can extract from Matthew and Luke, and reconstruct with fair confidence in the form which it probably had about A.D. 50 at Antioch;
(2) the Petrine tradition embedded in Mark and giving us what was taught at Rome about A.D. 58;
(3) The L tradition which we may regard as Caesarean and date about A.D. 55-60;
(4) the M tradition, incorporated into Matthew in the form in which it was current in Antioch about A.D. 70;
(5) the 'Johannine' tradition, now accessible to us only in the form which it assumes in the Fourth Gospel at the end of the first century or in the early decades of the second, but not without clear traces of an earlier phase of its history at Antioch.

These traditions sometimes confirm, sometimes supplement, sometimes contradict each other. None can be treated as infallible; none can be neglected. Each has its own contribution to make to the story, a contribution which only painstaking and intelligent study can discover.

DEUX ÉTAPES DE L'UTOPISME HUMANISTE : LE CHÂTEAU DU DÉCAMÉRON ET L'ABBAYE DE THÉLÈME.

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IL fut un temps où l'histoire littéraire, se flattant de discerner sous le déguisement des lieux et des époques les caractères immuables du génie, dressait volontiers des généalogies de grands esprits avec, en renfort, une galerie de portraits savamment ordonnée. L'amateur le moins subtil y découvrait avec ravissement de piquantes parentés. Les sourires impertinents de La Fontaine et de l'Arioste brillaient sous la même fenêtre ; un même rayon éclairait la rondeur effrontée de Boccace, la hardiesse carrée de Rabelais.

Il est, en vérité, peu de parallèles qui ne soient possibles à qui dirige bien son intention. Or l'histoire littéraire de ce temps révolu est pavée d'intentions opiniâtres. G. K. Chesterton observe quelque part que le dix-neuvième siècle a nourri le " préjugé fantastique que tout progrès est dû aux hérétiques ". Et de fait l'hérésie, déclarée ou voilée, a passé quelque temps pour le condiment obligé de l'humanisme. Dès lors, quoi de plus naturel que d'en humer le fumet capiteux tant dans les oeuvres de Boccace, précurseur de l'humanisme, que dans celles de Rabelais, humaniste militant ? Le conte des Trois Anneaux,[1]

[1] C'est la troisième nouvelle de la première journée du *Décaméron*. Elle rapporte l'histoire du Juif Melchisédech, lequel, requis par Saladin de décider quelle était du Judaïsme, de l'Islam ou du Christianisme la vraie religion révélée, se tira d'affaire par un conte.—Un père portait à ses trois fils un amour si égal qu'il ne savait auquel léguer une bague magnifique également convoitée . . . des trois. Il en fit ciseler deux copies si parfaites que chacun des fils crut avoir reçu isolément de son père l'anneau authentique. Ainsi en va-t-il des trois religions. Qui saurait reconnaître l'authentique ?—. Le sujet de cette nouvelle est assez répandu dans la littérature médiévale. On lui accorde volontiers une origine averroïste. Je ne sais si l'on s'est avisé, à l'appui de cette présomption, que le choix des personnages est peut-être significatif : il n'est pas indifferent que Melchisedech soit juif et son maître musulman. En effet l'averroïsme,

l'oracle de la Bouteille, il n'en fallait pas davantage pour hisser les deux compères sur le piédestal commun de l'hétérodoxie. A quels rapprochements n'invitaient pas leurs communes railleries envers les moines et les juges, prêcheurs peu exemplaires et gardiens infidèles de la morale publique et privée? Et l'égale originalité de leur style? Et la curiosité d'esprit toute pareille qui poussait l'un et l'autre vers les cantons inexplorés ou ensevelis du monde de la science humaine?

Le parallèle semblait s'imposer.

Ainsi fut tracé le diptyque où Rabelais fait pendant à Boccace. Il n'en faut pas sourire outre mesure. Ne sont-ils pas tous deux—Boccace plus narquois, Rabelais plus sonore—en quête de certitudes terrestres? N'aimeraient-ils pas définir, l'un comme l'autre, une vie qui tiendrait en elle-même tout entière, sans qu'il en fallût toujours caresser le prolongement dans l'éternité? Ils appellent une même unité. L'incalculable déséquilibre qu'ils découvrent entre la vie vécue et la vie promise, entre la durée d'un homme et la durée éternelle, leur donne le vertige au point que ce partage est bien près de leur sembler une duperie. Tous deux ont dans la puissance de l'esprit humain une foi d'humanistes. A force de l'espérer, même confusément, ils annoncent pour l'âme une odyssée nouvelle, non plus diffuse dans l'éternité, mais tout entière contenue entre la naissance et la mort. La vie redevient à leurs yeux la seule unité de temps applicable à l'homme.

Or deux siècles séparent Boccace et Rabelais, près de deux siècles s'étendent entre leurs grandes oeuvres respectives. Le *Décaméron* a été mis sur le métier en 1348, *Pantagruel* a paru en 1532, *Gargantua* deux ans plus tard. On peut admettre que cette distance est trompeuse, car l'Italie du XIV[e] siecle est infiniment plus évoluée que la France du même temps. Peu

vivement combattu par les docteurs religieux de l'Islam, trouva de bonne heure des disciples parmi les Israélites. Au nombre des traducteurs qui firent connaître Averroès a l'Occident latin figure plus d'un Juif. Reste à savoir si Boccace a choisi le thème des Trois Anneaux par goût des histoires sentant l'hérésie, voire par sympathie pour l'averroïsme qui fut, en Italie, plus vivace qu'en France. Ce qu'il y a de plus certain c'est qu'un tel sujet convenait à merveille au dessein de son recueil dont la première journée est consacrée aux gens d'esprit qui se tirent d'embarras ou confondent leur prochain par un bon mot approprié.

importe ; même corrigé, l'écart reste énorme. Il suffit à expliquer mainte différence d'attitude ou de pensée sans entrer, pour complément de raisons, dans le caractère individuel de chaque auteur. Tout comme son ami Pétrarque, Boccace est un précurseur enserré dans un univers encore intact et immobile. Rabelais vit dans un monde déjà brassé par les courants nouveaux, tout frémissant d'agonies et de renaissances, de déchéances et d'avènements. Le *Décaméron* est la diane de l'humanisme, *Gargantua* en est le pas de charge et, d'une certaine manière, l'hymne. La confrontation des deux oeuvres laisse bien plus l'impression d'un dépassement que d'une ressemblance. Le Château du *Décaméron* et l'Abbaye de Rabelais ne sont pas des images jumelles. Il s'en faut. On pourrait plutôt imaginer que l'Abbaye de Thélème c'est le Château du *Décaméron* développé à une échelle immense et grand ouvert sur un monde réveillé.

Droit issue d'une aventure prodigieuse où la profondeur le dispute à la cocasserie, l'Abbaye est projetée dans la liesse effrénée des victoires. Gargantua a vaincu Picrochole. Il a recompensé tous ses seconds sauf un. *Restoyt seulement le moyne à pourvoir.* . . . Voici le tour venu de Frère Jean des Entommeures. Au sortir du banquet triomphal, l'imagination du moine, qui est à la taille de son tempérament, s'échauffe et se déploie. Mais Rabelais se passe vite du truchement de Frère Jean. C'est lui-même qui va parler. Et la description se déchaîne, minutieuse et éblouissante, rêve sans confusion d'un génie enivré.

A l'opposé, émergeant des décombres, le Château du *Décaméron* se profile sur un fond sinistre de désolation et de mort. Boccace l'a tiré tout orné de son imagination voluptueuse pour dresser sa bâtisse devant Florence ravagée par la peste de 1348. Peste effroyable qui, non contente de dépeupler la ville aux deux tiers, précipite et étale soudain la faillite de ce qui paraissait inébranlable, la faillite, voulons-nous dire, de la communauté médiévale.

Il fallait que Boccace eût de bonnes raisons pour préluder au *Décaméron* par des accents aussi lugubres. Il s'excuse de

ce triste début et feint de s'en expliquer. Mais sa raison est trop mauvaise pour être la vraie.

Dès la troisième phrase il promet que cet "*affreux commencement*" [1] sera bref et bientôt suivi de pages agréables. *Au vrai*, ajoute-t-il, *si j'avais pu décemment vous conduire ou je l'entends par une autre voie que le rude sentier de tout à l'heure, je l'aurais volontiers fait ; mais, faute de pouvoir rendre manifeste, sans cette relation, la cause de ce qu'on lira plus loin, j'obéis a une sorte de nécessité en entreprenant de l'écrire.*[2] Sur quoi commence le récit de la peste noire : huit pages de caractères menus et denses [3] dont la nécessité *logique* n'apparaît pas de prime abord. Boccace s'est visiblement gardé d'exposer en quoi cette nécessité était inéluctable. Si par la tournure *ce qu'on lira plus loin* il entend la rencontre prochaine des sept jeunes femmes et des trois jeunes gens dans l'église désertée de Santa Maria Novella, avait-il besoin de consacrer à la description de la peste autant et plus de pages qu'à cette rencontre ? [4] Si, comme il est probable, *ce qu'on lira plus loin* représente tout le *Décaméron*, quel rapport *nécessaire* existe-t-il entre le fléau et les cent nouvelles du recueil où l'on chercherait en vain la moindre allusion à la peste de 1348 ? C'est bien pour fuir la peste que les dix personnages de la rencontre vont abandonner Florence ; mais rien dans la suite du *Décaméron* n'exigeait que fussent données tant de précisions sur la cause de leur départ. Du moins pour la cohérence de la narration. Il faut admettre que Boccace a caché son vrai dessein sous un prétexte pour ainsi dire technique. Ce dessein, quel peut-il être ?

La description de la peste qui ouvre le *Décaméron* est un merveilleux morceau d'éloquence qui semble avoir un double objet : justifier par avance le départ des dix jeunes gens qui pourrait aisément passer pour une désertion, et détailler avec,

[1] . . . *orrido cominciamento* . . . (*Decamerone*, édit. Ottolini, Milano, Hoepli, 1932, p. 5).

[2] *Ibid.* J'ai rendu par *décemment* l'adverbe *onestamente ;* imprécision pour imprécision.

[3] Dans l'édit. Ottolini qui renferme en 680 p. in-12 tout le *Décaméron*.

[4] A noter que le récit de la rencontre contient un développement supplémentaire de deux pages sur la peste (discours de Pampinea, pp. 13-15 de l'édit. Ottolini).

croyons-nous, une impitoyable complaisance l'écroulement soudain de tout un édifice social. Il ne suffisait pas que la conscience morale du lecteur fût portée à absoudre les fuyards ; il fallait encore qu'elle les louât d'avoir pris le large, de s'être retirés d'un monde impur pour retrouver ailleurs la sagesse et la paix.[1] Il fallait que les déserteurs eussent raison contre la communauté désertée.

C'était une assez belle gageure. Le sentiment qui nous pousse aujourd'hui à trouver naturelle la défection des dix Florentins mériterait d'être analysé ; c'est la réussite de Boccace qui nous vaut cette conscience pure. Les sept jeunes femmes et les trois beaux cavaliers de Santa Maria Novella manquent terriblement de charité, de solidarité si l'on préfère. Qui ne le voit ? Et surtout qui ne l'aurait vu en 1348, l'année même de la peste ? Or c'est cette année-là, et non plus tard, que Boccace compose le prologue du *Décaméron*. Il devait justifier ses héros et justifier sa sympathie pour eux. Inventera-t-il quelque faux-fuyant, quelque circonstance atténuante ? Non. Ce serait une demi-bassesse. La vraie justification de leur fuite, la seule que Boccace veuille produire, c'est la décomposition de Florence, la débâcle sociale que le fléau vient d'y provoquer soudain.

Le temps de souligner par quelques touches vigoureuses la hideur du mal, d'en dépeindre l'effet foudroyant sur les bêtes comme sur les hommes, et Boccace entame l'essentiel du tableau : l'écroulement de la communauté florentine.

La violence et l'étendue du mal engendrent *chez ceux qui restent en vie toutes sortes de frayeurs et de superstitions ; presque tous tendaient vers un recours bien cruel qui était d'éviter et de fuir les malades.*[2] Voilà pour la charité, clef de voûte idéale de la société chrétienne. Certains de ces survivants, poursuit Boccace, se retiraient dans un demi-jeûne prudent. *D'autres, à l'opposé, affirmaient que bien boire, se donner du plaisir, chanter et se divertir à travers la ville, assouvir ses désirs autant qu'on le pouvait, se moquer et rire de ce qui advenait, étaient, contre un*

[1] Je ne puis m'empêcher de croire que Boccace eût été épris de l'homme qui joua son *Décaméron* à lui tout seul en évitant la pestilence de Bordeaux pour poursuivre en paix, du haut de sa "librairie," la contemplation d'un monde plus avenant. . . .

[2] *Décaméron*, édit. Ottolini, p. 7.

tel mal, une médecine infaillible ; et, faisant leur possible pour agir selon leurs propos, ils se transportaient, la nuit comme le jour, d'une taverne à l'autre, buvant sans règle et sans mesure ; ils allaient plus volontiers encore dans la maison d'autrui, pour peu qu'ils y flairassent quelque chose qui fût à leur gré ou à leur goût. Ce qu'ils pouvaient faire bien aisément, car tous les habitants, comme s'ils ne devaient plus vivre, avaient laissé leurs biens à l'abandon tout comme ils s'y laissaient eux-mêmes ; la plupart des maisons étaient devenues communes ; l'étranger en usait comme eût fait le maître : et, dans la bestialité de leur dessein, ces gens ne cessaient de fuir les malades autant qu'ils le pouvaient.[1] Est-il ici besoin d'un commentaire ? Ce n'est plus seulement la charité, mais toute la morale de l'Evangile qui est foulée aux pieds. L'intempérance, la luxure, le vol, le désespoir règnent sous l'aile de l'épouvante. Abandonnant son bien, déposant sa dignité, se délaissant lui-même, l'homme paraît acharné à se renier sans relâche. J'entends l'homme chrétien, l'homme de la communauté médiévale qui, ayant perdu la charité et l'espérance, n'a plus grand'chose à demander à la foi. Il serait trop aisé de montrer qu'en dix lignes impitoyables Boccace vient d'enfermer Florence, cercle par cercle, fosse par fosse, dans l'Enfer béant où Dante la voyait glisser lentement.

Les institutions humaines pouvaient-elles mieux résister que les coeurs humains ? Sans répit, Boccace continue : *Au milieu de tant de malheur et de misère, la respectable autorité des lois, aussi bien divines qu'humaines, était à peu près défaite et ruinée, car, à l'égal des autres hommes, ses représentants étaient morts ou malades, ou si démunis de serviteurs qu'ils ne pouvaient remplir leur charge.*[2] Rien qui pût empêcher quiconque d'agir à son gré. Que subsiste-t-il de la communauté prospère et ordonnée de la veille ?

Ici Boccace marque un temps.

Il va parler des précurseurs de ses propres héros, de ceux qui cherchent leur salut dans la plus prompte des fuites. Les excuse-t-il ? Non. Le passage qu'il leur consacre est fort subtilement écrit. Boccace condamne tous ceux qui en s'évadant de la cité désemparée y abandonnent les leurs ; ce qui est une

[1] *Décaméron*, édit. Ottolini, pp. 7-8. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

façon de réserver son jugement sur ceux qui n'y laissent personne de leur sang. . . . Chemin faisant, il a pris soin d'indiquer, par une phrase négligemment incluse, que la fuite était sans doute le plus sûr des remèdes.[1] Double précaution dont il tirera parti pour justifier ses dix anachorètes.

Ce cap une fois franchi, il reprend sa peinture de la désagrégation de Florence. *Passons sur ce qu'un homme fuyait l'autre, que presque personne n'avait cure de son voisin, que les parents se visitaient rarement ou jamais ; le fléau avait mis une telle terreur dans le coeur des hommes et des femmes que le frère abandonnait le frère, l'oncle le neveu, la soeur son propre frère, souvent la femme son mari ; et (ce qui est bien pis, ce qui semble incroyable) les pères et les mères évitaient d'aller voir et de soigner leurs fils, comme s'ils n'eussent pas été à eux.*[2]—*Les tourterelles se fuyaient?* C'est ici bien autre chose. Les mères fuient leurs enfants. Que reste-t-il de la famille, première cellule et rempart suprême de la communauté médiévale? La table est rase là aussi.

Dans Florence écrasée d'épouvante la folie fait son chemin. La charité est morte, la morale piétinée, l'autorité sans recours. Les lois éternelles de la Nature, fille de Dieu, sont violées : la mère s'enfuit du chevet de son enfant moribond.

Le feu du Ciel a dévasté Sodome et Gomorrhe pour moins que cela.

Les malades meurent dans la solitude. Les corps jonchent les rues empestées. On voit au matin des cadavres tirés des demeures par peur de la contagion et alignés le long des portes. Les enterrements sont rapides, bâclés. On entasse deux et trois morts dans un même cercueil. Et parce qu'il faut que la folie soit mêlée de je ne sais quel affreux comique, voici un trait de bouffonnerie macabre : *Il advint un nombre infini de fois que comme deux prêtres s'en allaient, portant chacun leur croix, trois ou quatre cercueils venaient se placer derrière chaque crucifix ; et quand les prêtres croyaient avoir un mort à enterrer, ils en avaient six ou huit, et parfois davantage.*[3] Le cortège allait son chemin

[1] *Certains, obéissant à un sentiment plus cruel (encore que ce fût là sans doute le plus sûr) . . . abandonnaient leur ville, leurs maisons, leurs domaines, leurs parents et leurs biens . . .* etc. . . . (*ibid.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

sans l'honneur d'une larme ou d'un cierge.[1] *On ne se souciait pas plus des hommes qui mouraient qu'on ne se soucierait de chèvres aujourd'hui.*[2] Partout se creusaient d'immenses charniers qu'on emplissait *comme des cales de navire.*[3] Boccace peut-il éviter de suivre dans l'au-delà, par la pensée, cette foule ensevelie

Qui sous le poids de tant de pelletées

a sombré dans la terre de ses aïeux ? Sa dernière phrase est pour *les hommes valeureux, les belles femmes, les gracieux jeunes gens, que Galien, Hippocrate ou Esculape eux-mêmes auraient jugés on ne peut mieux portants ; qui déjeunèrent un matin avec leurs parents, compagnons et amis, et s'en allèrent le soir suivant dîner dans l'autre monde à la table de leurs ancêtres !* [4]

Telle est l'image de la fin, funèbre avec une troublante pointe d'ironie. Florence est aux portes de l'autre monde : les ancêtres se poussent pour faire place à leurs descendants terrassés. . . . Hier l'une des plus florissantes cités d'Occident, aujourd'hui puant cimetière où près des cadavres pourrissants s'agitent follement des corps que l'âme ne commande plus. Sous les coups du fléau, la communauté s'est défaite. Certes le fléau fut terrible. Mais l'amour du corps devait-il tuer l'âme ? Voilà que la peste a institué le vrai débat de l'Ame et du Corps, par dessus la tradition scolastique : et l'on en voit l'issue véritable. Que valaient cette foi et cette morale qui formaient le ciment de la communauté ? Elles étaient plus périssables que les corps. Une vague de peste et tout s'effondre. . . . L'âme, qu'on eût crue affermie par tant de siècles d'exaltation spirituelle et de rigueur morale, est la première à capituler. Boccace a assez contemplé, l'oeil dur, cette gigantesque faillite. Il va pouvoir lui tourner le dos sans indécence et sans remords.

Dans une église déserte, au coeur de la ville déserte, sept jeunes femmes vêtues de deuil se retrouvent un matin. Elles ont de dix-huit à vingt-huit ans. L'office achevé, la plus âgée se tourne vers ses compagnes et leur tient un discours dont voici la substance : Il est juste de préserver sa propre vie. Dans la ville entière il n'est plus trace de décence : ni de règle morale.

[1] *Décaméron*, édit. Ottolini, p. 11. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Et l'on n'entend parler que de trépas. Nous ne sommes environnées que des ombres de nos morts. Il ne saurait exister de séjour plus périlleux et plus sinistre. Que ne faisons-nous donc comme d'autres ont déjà fait ? Sortons de la cité, allons plutôt nous divertir, honnêtement il va de soi, dans quelque campagne éloignée. *Là-bas on entend les oiseaux chanter, on voit verdoyer les coteaux et les plaines, les champs de blé ondoient comme la mer . . . et le ciel, tout irrité qu'il est, ne nous y refuse pas le spectacle de ses beautés éternelles, plus douces à contempler que les murailles vides de notre cité.*[1] Mais que peuvent des femmes sans l'appui d'hommes d'honneur ? Sur quoi la porte de l'église livre passage à trois beaux jeunes gens, venus se consoler des malheurs du temps par la vue de celles qu'ils aiment ; leur secours n'est pas plus tôt demandé qu'obtenu.

L'équipe du *Décaméron* est au complet.

Le premier élan de Rabelais dans sa description de l'Abbaye de Thélème est, on s'en souvient, tout satirique. Thélème sera au rebours des abbayes véritables. *Premierement doncques (dist Gargantua) il ny fauldra jà bastir murailles au circuit, car toutes aultres abbayes sont fierement murées. . . . Davantage, veu que en certains conventz de ce monde est en usance que, si femme aulcune y entre (j'entends des preudes et pudicques), on nettoye la place par laquelle elles ont passé ; feut ordonné que, si religieux ou religieuse y entroit par cas fortuit, on nettoiroit curieusement tous les lieulx par lesquelz auroient passé. Et parce que es religions de ce monde tout est compassé, limité et reiglé par heures, feut décreté que là ne seroit horrologe ny quadrant aulcun. . . . Item, parce qu'en icelluy temps on ne mettoit en religion des femmes sinon celles que estoient borgnes, boyteuses, bossues, laydes, defaictes, folles, insensées, maleficiées et tarées, ny les hommes, sinon catarrez, mal nez, niays et empesche de maison. . . . Feut ordonné que là ne seroient repçues sinon les belles, bien formées et bien naturées, et les beaulx, bien formez et bien naturez.*[2] Trois *item* de la même veine parfont le contre-règlement de Gargantua. Dans le premier temps de son imagination, Rabelais ne paraît conduit que par son aversion contre le monachisme. Le statut de Thélème

[1] *Décaméron*, édit. Ottolini, p. 15.

[2] *Gargantua* (édit. Plattard, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1938), pp. 176-177.

n'est d'abord que le " négatif " de tout statut conventuel. Rien de pareil chez Boccace qui ne se mêle guère de critiquer les institutions. Bien que la vie de ses dix personnages dans leur château ressemble fort à celle des Thélémites, il ne s'avise pas un instant de la mettre en parallèle avec la vie monastique. Rabelais s'en prend aux couvents, Boccace, lui, n'en a qu'aux moines. On sait qu'il ne les a pas épargnés. Mais le pamphlet du Gargantua et les anecdotes scandaleuses du Décaméron répondent à des postulats différents. Rabelais tient que les mauvaises institutions corrompent l'humanité, quand Boccace incline à croire que les faiblesses humaines corrompent les institutions. Visiblement, ils n'ont pas la même opinion des capacités de l''homme libre. Boccace a beau avoir mesuré la faillite d'un système en quelque sorte " totalitaire ", il n'admet pas encore que le salut est au prix d'une absolue liberté. La devise de son château n'est pas FAY CE QUE VOULDRAS ; chacun y sera à son tour roi ou reine. L'autorité y est transitoire, elle passe de main en main, mais sa nécessité n'est pas en cause une seule fois. Boccace est encore loin de l'intellectualisme humaniste. *Science sans conscience n'est que ruine de l'âme* écrit Rabelais, mais en jugeant par devers soi que la bonne science fait les bonnes consciences, *parce que gens liberes, bien nez, bien instruictz, conversans en compaignies honnestes, ont par nature un instinct et aiguillon, qui tousjours les poulse a faictz vertueux et retire de vice, lequel ilz nommoient honneur.*[1] Les héros de Boccace n'ont pas si bonne opinion d'eux-mêmes, pour *bien nez* et *bien instruictz* qu'ils s'estiment. *Etant donné que ce qui n'a point de règle ne saurait durer longtemps*—dit Pampinea, instigatrice de l'évasion— . . . *je suis d'avis qu'il est nécessaire d'avoir parmi nous un chef, auquel nous rendrons hommage et obéirons comme à un supérieur.*[2]

Cette différence de régime marque clairement les positions respectives de Boccace et de Rabelais sur la voie commune de cet optimisme humaniste qui mène à l'anarchie heureuse. Il est curieux que nous retrouvions là les deux temps classiques de l'instauration, si l'on peut dire, de l'anarchie, tels que les prévoient ses doctrinaires. Le premier où l'autorité, qui ne saurait

[1] *Gargantua*, p. 189. [2] *Décaméron*, édit. Ottolini, p. 19.

être abolie sans transition, changera constamment de main, afin que nul n'ait le loisir de s'en faire une arme contre la société ; le second où cette autorité, graduellement affaiblie par son incessant passage d'une main à l'autre, s'avèrera superflue et disparaîtra. Cette vue politique ne permet-elle pas de mesurer la distance qui va du *Décaméron* au *Gargantua* ? Boccace reste au premier pas d'une évolution idéale dont Rabelais décrit le terme. Le progrès manifeste accompli par l'utopisme humaniste équivaut à l'accroissement de la confiance en l'homme. Les émigrants du *Décaméron* se défient encore d'eux-mêmes ; Rabelais n'a plus l'ombre d'une appréhension sur les adolescents de Thélème.

Aussi quelle différence dans les demeures ! L'une est une retraite écartée de tous les chemins, l'autre s'élève sur la Loire, voie royale, au confluent de trois rivières, juste en face de l'authentique et opulente abbaye de Bourgueuil. La première sous-entend qu'il n'est de bonheur que caché ; l'autre semble appeler le monde à venir juger de sa félicité, sans craindre la comparaison—bien au contraire !—avec celle qu'on offre en face.

Ecoutons Boccace. *Ce lieu*, dit-il, *était sis sur une petite colline passablement écartée de tous nos chemins ; il foisonnait d'arbustes et de plantes toutes chargées de vertes ramures, fort avenantes au regard. Sur son sommet se trouvait un château comprenant en son milieu une vaste et belle cour, des galeries, des salles, des chambres toutes fort belles à leur manière, remarquables par les agréables peintures qui les ornaient ; tout autour, des prairies, de merveilleux jardins, des puits d'une eau très fraîche ; et des caves pleines de vins de prix . . .* etc.[1] Trois domestiques servent en silence les dix convives sur une belle nappe blanche jonchée de genêts.[2] Cet idéal séjour de fraîcheur, de lumière et de sérénité ne va guère au delà de l'ambition d'un Florentin sensible et fortuné. Au quinzième siècle, les coteaux de Toscane se couvriront de palais de ce genre ; les Médicis, pour ne citer qu'eux, réaliseront non pas une mais dix fois le rêve de Boccace.

En revanche qui peut se vanter d'avoir couché sur terre le songe de Rabelais ? *Ledict bastiment* [Thélème] *estoit cent foys plus magnificque que n'est Bonivet, ne Chambourg, ne Chantilly ;*

[1] *Décaméron*, édit. Ottolini, p. 18. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

car en icelluy estoient neuf mille troys cens trente et deux chambres, chascune guarnie de arriere chambres, cabinet, guarde robbe, chapelle et yssue en une grande salle. . . . Depuis la tour Artice jusques a Cryere estoient les belles grandes librairies, en Grec, Latin, Hebrieu, Françoys, Tuscan et Hespaignol, disparties par les divers estaiges selon iceulx langaiges. . . . Depuis la tour Anatole jusques à Mesembrine estoient belles grandes galleries, toutes pinctes des antiques prouesses et descriptions de la terre.[1] *. . . Au milieu de la basse court estoit une fontaine magnificque de bel alabastre. . . . Le dedans du logis sus ladicte basse court estoit sus gros pilliers de cassidoine et porphyre, au dedans desquelz estoient belles gualeries, longues et amples, ornées de painctures, de cornes de cerf, licornes, rhinoceros, hippopotames, dens de elephans, et aultres choses spectables.*[2] *. . . Toutes les salles, chambres et cabinetz estoient tapissez en diverses sortes selon les saisons de l'année. Tout le pavé estoit couvert de drap verd. Les lictz estoient de broderie. En chascune arriere chambre estoit un miroir de cristallin, enchassé en or fin, au tour garny de perles, et estoit de telle grandeur qu'il pouvoit véritablement représenter toute la personne.*[3] Devant la fabuleuse bâtisse s'étendent *les lices, l'hippodrome, le theatre, et natatoires, avec les bains mirificques a triple solier, bien garniz de tous assortements, et foyzon d'eau de myrte.*[4] Ailleurs c'est *le vergier, plein de tous arbres fructiers . . . le grand parc, foizonnant en toute sauvagine,*[5] sans omettre *les jeux de paulme et de grosse balle . . . les butes pour l'arquebuse, l'arc, et l'arbaleste . . . les offices . . . l'escurye . . . la faulconnerie . . . la venerie.*[6] Le vêtement des Thélémites finit d'éblouir l'imagination ; dans les trois pages employées à le décrire, il est fait seize fois mention de pierreries, huit fois d'argent : le mot *or* revient dix-sept fois ![7]

Invinciblement entraîné par le désir de faire entrer dans Thélème tout ce qui compose la richesse du monde, Rabelais s'est abandonné avec ravissement à une débauche de somptuosité sans pareille. Pas une ligne floue, pas un contour noyé : précis

[1] *Gargantua* (édit. Plattard), pp. 178-179.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.
[7] Nous n'avons pas voulu allonger une série de citations qui peut déjà paraître excessive. Cette description forme le chapitre LVI du *Gargantua* (édit. Plattard, pp. 185-189).

dans le gigantesque, minutieux dans la pléthore, il bâtit sa chimère sur le devis de sa raison. Et il arpente sans vertige ce paradis qui fait vaciller le regard.

Boccace est loin de déployer autant de puissance dans l'harmonie. Son oeil préfère les lignes courtes et suaves. Son palais est aussi enchanteur que l'Abbaye, sinon davantage, mais pour de tout autres raisons. Rien ne passe la séduction de quelques paysages qu'il a distribués à l'entour du Château ; si j'ose déparer par ma traduction le prologue de la troisième journée, voici le décor où vont s'exercer les conteurs : *Le jardin était parcouru, sur les côtés comme vers son milieu, par de vastes allées, droites comme des flèches, abritées par des treilles qui promettaient cette année-là grande abondance de raisin. Ces treilles, toutes en fleur, répandaient une odeur telle qu'à la respirer, jointe à d'autres senteurs qui émanaient du jardin, ils se croyaient environnés de tous les parfums qu'eût jamais distillés l'Orient. Les allées étaient bordées de rosiers blancs et rouges et de jasmins ; si bien que l'on pouvait aller de toutes parts, non seulement le matin, mais à l'heure même où le soleil était au zénith, sans jamais en subir l'atteinte. . . . Au centre s'étendait une prairie d'herbe fine et drue, verte au point de sembler noire, constellée de mille sortes de fleurs, toute ceinte d'orangers et de cédratiers d'un vert vif qui, portant avec leurs feuilles les fruits anciens et les nouveaux, charmaient à la fois l'odorat et les yeux auxquels ils dispensaient leur ombre. Au milieu du pré se dressait une fontaine de marbre d'une éclatante blancheur, ornée de sculptures merveilleuses. D'une statue placée au centre de la fontaine—était-ce l'issue d'une source ou l'effet de quelque artifice ?—s'élevait un tel jet d'eau, et si haut contre le ciel, qu'il eût suffi, et au-delà, à mettre un moulin en branle. Il retombait dans la fontaine limpide en rendant un son délicieux. Puis cette eau sortait du jardin par un invisible conduit, et, reparaissant au jour, courait tout autour de la prairie en de charmants canaux dessinés avec art.*[1]

Où Rabelais est prodigieux Boccace est délicieux : il a beau donner à son jet d'eau tout le débit d'une rivière, il reste en deçà du fabuleux. La monumentale splendeur de la fontaine n'est

[1] *Décaméron* (édit. Ottolini), pp. 163-164. La Vallée des Dames de la sixième journée (*ibid.*, pp. 406-408) ne forme pas un paysage moins exquis.

qu'une nécessité d'harmonie dans le jardin où il promène ses conteurs. Dépasser le réel n'est pas son affaire : il lui suffit de l'embellir. S'il lui arrive parfois de faire un pas vers l'extraordinaire, c'est dans un dessein pittoresque ; l'effet atteint, il retire son pas. Son ambition n'est pas de transformer le monde mais de le transfigurer. Les " horizons perdus " où il enferme ses dix héros sont de ceux que l'imagination peut aisément concevoir pour peu qu'on la sollicite. De l'eau, de la vigne, et du marbre : son paradis est fait de rien. Mais comme il tranche violemment sur le premier tableau du livre ! la ville altérée, desséchée, noire de cadavres et de corbeaux qui continue a fermenter horriblement derrière les coteaux ruisselants de sources, verts de pampres, blancs de marbres. Monde vivant et monde mort : ici toutes les séductions d'une jeunesse qu'on peut croire éternelle, là-bas au loin le hideux spectacle d'une décomposition foudroyante. Ici la vie, parée de ses grâces naturelles et de tous les prestiges de l'art—la vie plus belle qu'on ne saurait croire—, là-bas la mort. Et de peur qu'un souffle empesté ne vînt en flétrir les ombrages, Boccace a caché son Eden avec autant de prudence que Dieu a celé le sien. Il se garde de l'haleine de la mort autant que Dieu des relents du péché. Car sa religion n'est que l'amour de la vie : quoi d'étonnant s'il tremble pour la vie ? s'il ne la croit jamais assez loin des périls ?

Aussi arrivons-nous à l'étrange paradoxe que son château est le plus retiré, le plus inaccessible des couvents. Il n'est pas de monastère thibétain, qui y soit comparable à cet égard. Certes, on n'y discerne point de murailles ; tout, ou presque tout, se déroule dans une nature libre de bornes : banquets, baignades, danses, repas champêtres le long des ruisseaux, sommeils à la belle étoile dans de fraîches vallées, près des bassins de marbre, quand la nuit est chaude, concerts de luth mêlés aux chants des oiseaux, au bruit des sources. . . . Mais quel besoin d'élever des murs, de tirer des rideaux ? C'est ici un autre monde, mystérieusement enclavé sur terre en un lieu impossible à découvrir.

Paradoxe, disions-nous : n'en est-ce pas un, en effet, que de voir le château de Boccace ressembler cent fois plus à un

monastère que l'Abbaye de Thélème? A y bien regarder, l'Abbaye n'est pas un couvent : c'est un séminaire. Qu'on y entre et en sorte librement, conformément à l'anti-règle de Rabelais, n'est rien ; ce qui compte, nous semble-t-il, c'est que : *Au reguard de l'eage legitime, les femmes y estoient repçues depuis dix jusques a quinze ans, les hommes depuis douze jusques à dix et huict.*[1] Autrement dit Thélème est une école bien plus qu'une retraite. Les Thélémites y sont formés en vue de la vie séculière. C'est le séminaire de l'humanisme triomphant. De l'Abbaye sortiront de jeunes femmes et de jeunes hommes indissolublement liés par une commune habitude du bonheur et déterminés à se donner au monde en exemple. On ne peut les imaginer autrement que comme les missionnaires d'une verité qui se prouve en se montrant : missionnaires et propagateurs d'un nouveau sens de la vie qui se passe de prédications mais non d'exemples.

Est-ce à dire que le Château du *Décaméron* où, à l'inverse de l'Abbaye, aucun nouveau monde ne s'élabore, soit si loin des hommes tels qu'ils sont que nul ne s'y veuille souvenir de leurs passions et de leurs misères? On sait qu'il n'en est rien. L'essentiel du *Décaméron* n'est pas fait de son décor, mais des nouvelles que s'y racontent sept jeunes femmes et leurs trois cavaliers. Florence n'est pas oubliée dans leurs contes, loin de là. Mais ils n'en parlent ni pour la corriger, ni pour lui enseigner un nouveau sens de la vie. *Suave mari magno*. . . . De leur oasis sereine, ils revoient le monde en tempête et, sûrs qu'ils sont de leur divine paix, goûtent sans se lasser le spectacle de ses folies. Pareils à ces ermites d'Anatole France qui ne se réunissaient que pour mieux jouir de la solitude, les héros du *Décaméron* semblent n'avoir fui le monde que pour mieux le contempler, pour le convertir à leur guise en une simple matière à récits. Et si leur point de vue est celui de Sirius, leur oeil perçant descend jusqu'au détail. Ce n'est pas d'un regard négligent qu'ils parcourent l'univers étendu à leurs pieds. Il est un passage célèbre de Lucrèce où l'on voit les sanglants corps à corps d'une immense bataille, le geste éperdu des blessés, les

[1] *Gargantua* (édit. Plattard), p. 177.

convulsions terribles des mourants, se muer en un simple jeu de lignes ondulantes, d'ombres et de couleurs pour qui voit le combat du haut de la montagne. Lucrèce trouve son compte à ce tournoiement d'atomes, Boccace ne l'y trouverait pas. Aussi ses dix conteurs fouillent-ils des yeux le tourbillon du monde pour en tirer des épisodes, des traits choisis, des actions singulières. Le chemin de Lucrèce voilà qu'ils le font à rebours. Ils redescendent la montagne non pour connaître l'issue du combat mais pour en savourer sans risque les péripéties. C'est par là que le monde renié fait sa rentrée dans le *Décaméron :* il y revient travesti par l'art, travesti, non purifié. Mais ainsi changé il forme, pour qui le revoit du Château, un spectacle tantôt plaisant, tantôt émouvant, attachant toujours. Les humains semblent ne s'aimer, se haïr, se chercher, se fuir, s'attendre que pour l'agrément de dix sages qu'il faut désennuyer. Ce monde-là a bien l'air d'avoir un sens : les amours terribles, les hautes tragédies, les farces gaillardes ou cruelles, les aventures scandaleuses, les stratagèmes des roués, et jusqu'au sang versé dans quelque noble éclat, voilà qui va meubler l'oisiveté de quelques êtres choisis, à l'heure la plus chaude du jour. Rabelais est allé moins loin : quelque amour qu'il porte à ses Thélémites, il ne leur donne pas le monde pour en jouer ; il y a chez Boccace une force implicite de mépris dont Rabelais ne connaît plus l'empire parce qu'il a maîtrisé, dépassé le mépris. Pour Boccace le monde est le hochet des sages ; Rabelais entend que Thélème traite le monde en frère cadet, qu'il faut guider, instruire, et pour cela aimer. Le Château du *Décaméron* est le plus haut monument de cet égoïsme agressif où l'histoire a longtemps voulu voir l'étincelle première de l'humanisme moderne : égoïsme à dix, si j'ose dire, qui a toute l'intransigeance et la circonspection du fameux " égoïsme à deux ". Au lieu que l'Abbaye de Thélème est une utopie exemplaire, conçue à l'intention de toute l'humanité. Certes, tous les hommes ne sauraient y trouver place du premier coup, mais l'important n'est pas d'être à Thélème ; l'important est que le monde soit disposé à en saisir l'enseignement prodigué par tous ceux qui y auront passé. En face de l'Abbaye silencieuse de Bourgueuil, qu'elle écrase de ses proportions gigantesques, Thélème se dresse comme le

séminaire des hommes de demain. Au centre de son secret, le Château du *Décaméron* n'est qu'un refuge contre l'univers d'aujourd'hui. On n'y tolère, pour s'en divertir, que des souvenirs choisis de l'humanité d'hier et d'avant-hier.

N'est-ce pas Nietzsche qui a parlé des " conquérants cachés sous un manteau de lumière " ? L'image sied à Boccace comme à Rabelais. Mais si Rabelais poursuit par l'Idée une conquête réelle, Boccace se contente de soumettre le monde aux intentions, voire aux caprices de l'Art. Conquête subjective, qui dure ce que dure l'oeuvre, et que la vie se charge de ramener sans cesse au rang des illusions heureuses. Mais en est-il de plus effective ?

C'est l'un des traits majeurs du génie italien que de placer dans l'Art autant de confiance que nous en mettons, de ce côté-ci des Alpes, dans l'Idée. Au siècle tournant de la philosophie politique,—qui fut aussi celui des utopies—, se pouvait-il que Rabelais fît mentir le génie francais ? Et était-il concevable que Boccace faillît au génie italien au siècle ou commençait dans la péninsule la longue hégémonie de l'Art sur la pensée ?

MENANDER: PLAYS OF SOCIAL CRITICISM.[1]

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I. Introduction.

MENANDER wrote over 100 plays in 30 years, i.e. between three and four a year; this is corroborated by two facts: first, we have over 90 titles of plays recorded in literary sources; secondly, we know that the *Imbrians*, written in his twentieth year of authorship, was numbered between 70 and 80. Of this vast production nine plays survive in adaptations by Plautus and Terence, three on papyri of sufficient extent to permit of reconstruction; ten more have considerable papyrus fragments and of another twenty something at least can be said. Thus we can form some idea of about half of Menander's production.

Although our estimate of Menander must rest primarily on the best preserved plays, the fragments are valuable for checking the accuracy of the picture. Just as the archæologist can reconstruct a vase from a few small fragments, a few random lines, preserved in the original Greek or in a Roman translation, may give a clue to the shape of a lost play and show with what surviving plays its closest analogies lay. To take one instance, in Terence' *Adelphi* the slave Geta (320 f.) tells Sostrata that the rich young man Aeschinus intends to abandon her daughter whom he has seduced but had promised to marry. We know that a somewhat similar scene occurred in the *Plokion* between a slave and the girl's father who was a poor man (404-8K; Ribbeck 63, IV-VI, VIII-IX). The ideas there, the defencelessness of poverty against the outrages of the rich and the misery of old age, which only lives on to see disasters, recur in slightly

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 11th of December, 1946.

different form in the *Theophoroumene* (223K) and *Hypobolimaios* (481K, 485K) and may reasonably be supposed to have had similar contexts in those plays. In the *Adelphi* Geta and Canthara advise Sostrata to take no action but to try and conceal the misfortune (335 f.); a fragment of the *Hypobolimaios* (489K), 'it is no small folly to air your misfortune before witnesses when it could be hidden' clearly belongs to the same situation. Sostrata, however, sends to Hegio for help (in Menander, Hegio was her brother, not a relation of her husband as in Terence); fragments of similar appeals survive from the *Dyskolos* (135K) and *Epikleros* (Ribbeck, 91, II). Hegio undertakes to do his umost whatever the father of the young man says (493, cf. *Plokion*, Ribbeck, XVI) and sees the issue as wealth exploiting the defencelessness of poverty (500 f., cf. *Plokion*, Ribbeck, XVIII); in due course Micio, the adoptive father of the young man, says that he will do his duty (593), a phrase which is found again in the *Epikleros* (Ribbeck, XI). Thus from random coincidences with lines in the *Adelphi*, we can infer similar situations in the *Plokion*, *Hypobolimaios*, *Epikleros*, *Dyskolos* and *Theophoroumene*.

On the other hand, the fragments sometimes show a full treatment of situations which have only left traces in the surviving plays. In the *Aulularia* (475 f.) the rich man, who is proposing to marry a poor girl, fulminates at length against wives with large dowries; although Plautus has undoubtedly Romanised, exaggerated and extended, the basic idea is Menander's and the fragments show us that in four plays at least the rich wife was a character and took a considerable part in the action—*Epikleros*, *Plokion*, *Hypobolimaios*, *Misogynes*. The fully preserved plays have no instance of the man who advises his friend against marriage because of his own matrimonial sufferings; but he occurs in fragments of the *Arrhephoros* (65K) and *Paidion* (371K; cf. Ribbeck, 105, X) and in a difficult passage in the *Misoumenos* (45). The domineering and greedy hetaira apparently played a larger part in the *Paidion*, *Demiourgos* and *Thais* than in any of the surviving plays; the picture which Phaedria (quite unjustifiably) draws of Thais in the first act of the *Eunuch* is a final pale reflection of the much fuller

portrait, which we can sense in these other plays.[1] Thus the fragments perform the double function of confirming and enlarging our view of Menander's art, which must chiefly be formed from the fully preserved plays.

For convenience of study, Menander's plays must be arranged in groups. One group consists of the Plays of Reconciliation studied in the last volume of the RYLAND'S BULLETIN.[2] In these plays two lovers (or husband and wife) become estranged through an act of folly; reconciliation is finally affected by a nice appreciation that the wrongdoing was not deliberate but due to some

[1] Other instances of vestigial survival: (*a*) *Eunuch*, 440 f. Thraso is advised to make Thais, whom he believes unfaithful, jealous by pretending to be in love with Pamphila. In the *Leucadia*, the girl suspected her lover (Ribbeck, 100, X) and accepted the advances of a foreign soldier and this was evidently the central situation of the play; (*b*) *Heautontimoroumenos* 1061, Clitipho rejects a suggested wife because of her appearance. A fuller treatment of this motif apparently occurred in the *Demiourgos* (Ribbeck, 90, VII); (*c*) *Heautontimoroumenos* 1024 f., Clitipho suggests to his mother that he is a bastard; here it is a minor comic scene, in the *Hiereia* a similar suggestion introduced the recognition scene.

[2] *Epitrepontes* is further discussed, RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXX, 123 f. *Leucadia* should be added to the Plays of Reconciliation. The fragments show that the setting was the temple of Apollo at Leucas (312K) and Fraenkel (*Plautinisches*, 112, n. 3) has suggested that it may have inspired the setting of the *Rudens*. The anapaests describing Sappho's leap (312-3K) are sung to Apollo by a temple servant, presumably the priestess (she is named 311K, cf. 437K). This, I think, gives the clue to Ribbeck, 99, X: *verita sum, ne amoris causa cum illa limassis caput*. 'I was afraid that you had made love to her': the girl from Leucas had suspected the youth of making love to the priestess, and then adopting the strategy recommended to Thraso (*Eun.* 440 f.), accepted the advances of a foreign soldier of the type of Bias in the *Kolax* (cf. Ribbeck II with *Kolax* 29 f., 50 f.), reducing thereby her rejected lover (Ribbeck VI, cf. *Poen.*, 350) to extremes of misery (Ribbeck I, III, IV), which culminated in a speech overheard by his slave; Cicero regarded this as 'love not far removed from insanity' (Ribbeck XII). After this, according to Ribbeck, the girl, but according to Wilamowitz (*Sappho u. Simonides*, 26 f.) the youth, jumped into the sea and was fished out. This is a remnant of the old confusion (rightly ridiculed by Wilamowitz) that Phaon himself took part in the play; there is no evidence that anyone jumped into the sea; it is much more likely that the soldier carried the girl off and was shipwrecked with her, again as in the *Rudens*; she was picked up by the youth (Ribbeck XIV), and when she had been duly warmed (Ribbeck XV, cf. fr. 832K), the lovers were reconciled (Ribbeck XVI). It is perhaps permissible to guess that the original reason of the quarrel was the same as in the *Perikeiromene* and that the suspected lovers were brother and sister. Two fragments refer to a drunken slave (Ribbeck XVIII, XIX).

cause out of the doer's control, such as ignorance, anger or drunkenness. Menander called his first play *Orge* (Anger) and another early play *Methe* (Drunkenness); these may well be ancestors of the plays of reconciliation. Whether that is so or not, the grouping has no chronological significance since the *Perikeiromene* was probably produced soon after 314 B.C. and the *Epitrepontes* after 304 B.C.[1]

Three other groups can be distinguished: Adventure or Intrigue plays (e.g. the *Dis Exapaton*—Plautus' *Bacchides*),[2] Single-Character plays (e.g. the original of Plautus' *Aulularia*),[3] and the plays of Social Criticism (e.g. the *Second Adelphoi*—Terence' *Adelphi*).[4] I hope to study the other groups on another occasion; I am here concerned only with the last group, in which a rich young man loves, seduces, or has seduced, a poor girl. Where Menander lays emphasis on the young man's misuse of his position and particularly when he goes further to ask how such situations arise, I call the play a play of Social Criticism, but I do not include all seduction stories under this heading. The emphasis in the *Perinthia* lay on the deception of the old father and it must be reckoned as an Intrigue Play. In the *Aulularia* the seduction story is a background to the character of the old man Euclio and the play must therefore be reckoned as a Single-Character play. The satirical representation of misers, braggart soldiers, brothel-keepers, and greedy hetairas in the Intrigues and Single-Character plays is, of course, itself

[1] See Appendix on Chronology.

[2] Add also *Kekryphalos*, *Pseudherakles*, *Karchedonios* (original of Plautus' *Pœnulus*), *Heauton Penthon* (= *Comoedia Florentina*), *Perinthia* (see below, Sect. IV), *Koneiazomenai* (see RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXX, 142), and the soldier plays —*Aspis*, *Thrasyleon*, *Sikyonian*, *Kolax* (see below, Sect. III). Probably also *Arrhephoros:* fr. 69K certainly refers to a slave intrigue (cf. *Heauton*, 707), fr. 67K belongs to a slave narration (cf. *Bacchides*, 249 f.).

[3] Add also *Samia* (see RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXX, 129 f.), *Dyskolos*, *First Adelphoi* and the hetaira plays, *Demiourgos*, *Paidion*, *Thais*. Probably also *Apistos* (possibly the original of the *Aulularia*), *Deisidaimon*, *Thesauros*, *Hiereia*, *Misogynes*.

[4] Add the following plays discussed in RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXX, 115 f.: *Heros*, *Georgos*, *Theophoroumene*, *Kitharistes*, and the following plays discussed below: *Synaristosai*, *Kanephoros*, *Hypobolimaios*, *Plokion*, *Epikleros*, *Phasma*, *Eunuch*, *Andria*, *Heautontimoroumenos*, *Imbrians*, *Anepsioi*.

social criticism of a kind traditional in Greek comedy,[1] but in the plays to which I am here restricting the name, the criticism is constructive instead of destructive because the villains are not purely black nor the heroes purely white, but both are treated with the same sympathetic understanding as the characters in the Reconciliation plays. Social criticism so defined can be found in other plays as we shall have occasion to notice, and the difference between the groups is largely a difference of emphasis, but the seduction plays with social criticism form a compact group, in which it is possible to trace some development in Menander's thought.

II. Menander's Social Criticism.

Each of the plays in this group raises detailed problems of restoration; some of these I have discussed already and the rest will be discussed below.[2] I want, however, to consider first the more general question of Menander's social criticism. These plays have a common formula: a rich young man loves, seduces, or has seduced a poor girl, whom in every case he intends to marry. Frequently the girl bears a child during the course of the play.[3] In the *Eunuch* (and probably in the *Phasma*) the girl is seduced during the play. In the *Synaristosai* (and probably in the *Kanephoros*) the girl is keeping house for the young man (*Cist.*, 85, 111, 319). The technical phrase for this relationship is παλλακὴν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις παισὶν ἔχειν. The girl has not been recognised as a citizen and the legal formalities of marriage cannot be completed, but the young man regards her as his wife and has given her a trousseau[4] (*Cist.*, 485 f.). Menedemus in the *Heautontimoroumenos* (98, 104) describes the relationship between Clinia and Antiphila in the same terms: *amicam ut habeas prope iam in uxoris loco*, and the phrase *pro uxore habere* is twice used of Pamphilus and Glycerium in the

[1] Cf. Rylands Bulletin, XXIX, 153 f. [2] See last note but one.

[3] *Hypobolimaios, Plokion, Epikleros, Heros, Georgos, Andria, Second Adelphoi, Imbrians.* Probably also *Theophoroumene, Kitharistes.* Cf. also Intrigue plays: *Arrhephoros, Koneiazomenai, Perinthia;* Single Character plays: *Samia, Dyskolos,* original of *Aulularia.*

[4] Cf. *Perikeiromene*, 236 f. γαμετὴν γυναῖκα, 266 f. trousseau.

Andria (145, 273). The relationship can be broken by either side at any moment: Clinia in the *Heautontimoroumenos* is afraid that the old Corinthian woman who brought up Antiphila may have allowed her to become a hetaira during his absence in Asia (231), and Melaenis tries to withdraw her supposed daughter (*Cist.* 486 f.) when Alcesimarchus is to marry his Lemnian relative. Where the girl is a citizen, as in the *Second Adelphoi*,[1] no such relationship is possible and she can only wait on the young man's promises of marriage. Marriage is the final solution in all cases and is achieved for the non-citizens by the Comedy machinery of Recognition, but the interest of these plays for us lies not in the solution but in the views of the four parties, the young man and the girl, his parents or relatives, and hers.

The match is a love-match, however it began. We can only judge of the girl's views from the two plays in which we see something of her, the *Synaristosai* and the *Heautontimoroumenos*. The first scene of the *Synaristosai* contrasts Selenium, who is desperately in love with Alcesimarchus (*Cist.*, 60 f., particularly 113) and only rebuffs him when her mother compels her (449 f.), with the good-hearted but realistic Gymnasium, who has been brought up to the trade of the greedy hetaira (40, 78, 96). Similarly Antiphila in the *Heautontimoroumenos* is contrasted with the hetaira Bacchis (*potens, procax, magnifica, sumptuosa, nobilis*, 227), who arrives with a retinue of slaves (245 f.) and is ruthless with her lovers (730). Antiphila paid for her loyalty to Clinia with hard work and poverty (275 f.) while he was away, and nearly swoons for joy when he comes back to her (404 f.).

But what the girl regards as a love-match, the girl's relatives see as exploitation of the poor by the rich and are readily led thereby to reflect on the miseries of old age or the advantages of life in the country, where loneliness conceals misfortune (relevant

[1] Cf. *Plokion, Epikleros, Theophoroumene, Hypobolimaios, Kitharistes.* Sostrata refers to the impossibility of this relationship when she says that there has been no money transaction between her and Aeschinus (349). Her brother is recognised by Aeschinus' father as not only 'a man of the old school of morals' but 'a friend from boyhood' (440); her husband had grown up with Hegio (494). In Menander (unlike Terence, 933) Micio did not object to marrying her (the meaning of Donatus' *non gravatur* is fixed by *ne gravare* in 942).

passages from the *Second Adelphoi*, *Theophoroumene*, *Hypobolimaios*, *Plokion* and *Epikleros* are mentioned above). In the *Georgos*, Daos all unwittingly preaches to the girl's mother the advantages of living in the country ' where one will not have many witnesses to one's misery ' (79), but the chief critic of the rich in that play is naturally Gorgias, the girl's brother; it so happens that we only have the replies of the old man Kleainetos, who had himself found an anodyne in the country.[1] His experience (97K) warns Gorgias that however just the plea of poverty, it is apt to be misinterpreted as interested (129 f.) and that excessive anger is incompatible with proper pride (95K); wealth is in any case an uncertain possession (94K). This means, I think, that Gorgias has suggested violent action and Kleainetos argues for an attempt at negotiation, which in fact results in marriage. In the *Synaristosai* the *lena*, Gymnasium's mother, sees the poor hetairae as a closed society always on the defensive against the rich (*Cist.* 21 f.) and Melaenis naturally sees the treachery of the rich in the news that Alcesimarchus is to marry his Lemnian relation (492). But Melaenis had tried to bridge the gap by bringing up Selenium *bene ac pudice* (173) and consenting to a liaison which she believed would end in marriage: Chrysis in the *Andria* tried to achieve the same end by entrusting Glycerium to Pamphilus (283 f.). Thais in the *Eunuch* makes every effort to restore Pamphila to her family, undeterred by either her very real affection for Phaedria or her fear of violence from the soldier; for this reason she regards Chaerea's action as ὕβρις (*contumelia*) unworthy of his standards as a freeborn Athenian (865). But she accepts Chaerea's defence that his action was due to love and his readiness to marry the girl; she protects him from the justifiable fury of the girl's brother, Chremes,[2] and this protection earns her the gratitude of Chaerea's father.

The older generation on the young man's side see these love-matches as attempts by greedy hetairae to fleece their sons. Chaerea's father has long hated Thais as a typical hetaira (1000)

[1] Cf. RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXX, 138 f. I have argued there also that Gorgias in the *Heros* took the same sort of stand in defence of his sister.

[2] Pythias' exaggerations (951-958) conceal a real struggle.

and his slave Parmeno, having introduced Chaerea disguised as the Eunuch into Thais' house, prides himself 'on having discovered a method by which the young man can learn early the character and customs of hetairae, in order that when he knows them he may hate them always' (929 f.); in their eyes, Thais is the typical greedy hetaira. Simo in the *Andria* has the same preconceptions [1] and views everything that happens in Glycerium's house as an attempt to capture Pamphilus (475, 492, 834). Alcesimarchus' father in the *Synaristosai* (*Cist.* 305 f.), having mistaken Gymnasium for Selenium, proceeds to make love to her himself. Similarly, the watchers in the *Theophoroumene* regard the girl as a whore.[2] The older generation can apparently only conceive of two relationships, liaison with a hetaira involving no obligations and marriage of convenience; they themselves had run away when the woman they had violated was found to be with child.[3]

The alternative which the older generation offer their sons is formal marriage, and in many of these plays marriage arrangements are already going ahead.[4] The son is sometimes not consulted; in the *Georgos* (7 f.), perhaps also in the *Kitharistes*, the son arrives from a journey to find the marriage arrangements far advanced; in the *Andria* (236 f.) Pamphilus meets his father in the market-place and is told to go home and get ready for the wedding. The bride in the *Andria* is the daughter of a friend (as also in the *Samia*) but in the *Synaristosai*, *Plokion* and *Georgos*, a relation. The son seldom protests openly. However a fragmentary scene in the *Kitharistes* (75 f.) preserves a clash between father and son, in which at least it is clear that the father demands that the lady must be free-born and of blameless family. In another play, the young man protests that his mother only worships pedigree, but pedigree is no

[1] Compare the terminology of *Andria*, 93 f. with *Eunuch*, 930 f.

[2] Cf. RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXX, 140.

[3] Laches in the *Heros*, Kleainetos in the *Georgos*, Demipho in the *Synaristosai* (= *Cistellaria*), the father in the *Hiereia*.

[4] *Synaristosai*, *Plokion*, *Epikleros*, *Georgos*, *Andria*, *Kitharistes*. *Kanephoros* can be added, as Ribbeck 86, II, probably refers to a will which compels the young man to marry an heiress. No marriage arrangements in *Eunuch*, *Second Adelphoi*, *Heautontimoroumenos*; of the rest nothing can be said.

guarantee of worth; the man of character is noble even if he is an Aethiopian (533K). This protest may well belong to the *Plokion*, in which the mother is an ugly, jealous and domineering heiress. The misery of the husband in a marriage of convenience is an old comic theme which goes back at least to the *Clouds* of Aristophanes; Menander made full use of it in the *Plokion*, in the *Epikleros* (in which husband and wife had a dispute before the son as arbitrator), and probably also in the *Hypobolimaios* (484K). These were solemn warnings against such marriages.

In the eyes of their parents the young men have been caught by hetairae, but in several of these plays [1] Menander contrasts them with other young men who have in fact been so caught. In the *Heautontimoroumenos* the contrast between Bacchis and Antiphila (see above) is repeated in the young men. Both are very young (113, 1045). Clitipho has not dared to tell his father about Bacchis, and Syrus justly rebukes his lack of spirit (322 f.); he has no self-control and may at any moment give away the whole intrigue which has been conceived for his benefit (371, 563, 904). Finally, when he is afraid of losing his inheritance, he consents to marry. Clinia on the other hand has a single love to which are due both his exaggerated apprehensions (256) and his transports of joy (683 f.). It does not, however, prevent his being loyal both to his father (100 ff.) and to his friend (694 f.) at whatever cost to himself.[2] He has a strength and singlemindedness which Clitipho lacks.

Clinia's fears and trepidations are seen in an exaggerated form in Alcesimarchus (*Synaristosai—Cistellaria*). The swift, stormy inconsistency of his opening speech (203 f.) unlike similar outbursts in the *Andria* (236) and *Adelphi* (610), has no immediate reason except that he has been away for six days. A sudden desire for an army as soon forgotten (284), preparations for suicide dropped at once (639), a final capture of Selenium (650) as speedy as their first intimacy (558K) betray something more

[1] *Heautontimoroumenos, Second Adelphoi, Eunuch;* also *Hypobolimaios, Imbrians,* and probably *Plokion* (see below).

[2] Note that at 690, when Syrus has already begun to talk about Clitipho, Clinia pursuing his own train of thought exclaims *O Juppiter* and then *Antiphila mea nubet mihi;* this is the true parallel to Polemon's ὦ γῆ, *Perikeiromene,* 448 (cf. RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXIX, 16, n. 1).

than normal wayward violence.[1] Clinia's transports of joy are parallelled by Chaerea's in the *Eunuch*[2] and by a fragment which should perhaps be ascribed to the *Phasma;* 'I touched and kissed and at once I was drowned' (536K).[3] In the *Phasma*, the course of the youth's love was described from his first terror at what he thought was an apparition to a passion for which the only remedy was marriage.

Of course, this passion is irrational. The slave in the *Phasma* tells his love-stricken master that he is only suffering from the self-indulgence of the rich (27 f.) and Pamphilus in the *Andria* (55 f.) has deserted his well-balanced routine;[4] sometimes at least these youths are so obsessed that they are ineffective.[5] But they are loyal and prepared for the consequences of their actions. The youth in the *Georgos* says it would be impious to desert and wrong his dearest Hedeia (14 f.). Pamphilus in the *Andria* is determined to keep his word to the woman of Andros (282 f., 694 f.) and has decided to rear the child, which Davus regards as madness (401).[6] He necessarily falls foul of Simo's conventional view of hetairae and neither father nor son has ever been frank with the other; but 'respect for my father who has till now so generously allowed me to do whatever I liked' (262 f.) is a real factor in his conduct and at the end the idea of deceiving his father is as repugnant to him as to Simo himself (896-902).[7]

[1] Suess, *Rh. Mus.*, 1935, 169; 1938, 104, thinks he is characterised as a Sicyonian.

[2] The course of Chaerea's love is told 293 f., 559 f. (a monologue in the original, cf. *Phasma*, 1 f.), 1031 f. (to which *Andria* 959 f. also belongs according to Donatus but Pamphilus must have expressed a similar joy there). Alciphron (III, 31) is evidence for the same kind of speedy and overwhelming passion in the *Kanephoros*.

[3] See below, Sect. VIII.

[4] Cf. Charisios in the *Epitrepontes* (RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXIX, 386). In the *Kanephoros* someone, presumably the young man, complains that it is very difficult to reach wisdom (Ribbeck, 86, I) and is warned against the misfortunes that necessarily come to the irrational (253K).

[5] *Georgos* (100K), *Andria*, 607, *Adelphi*, 610 f., 630 f.

[6] Cf. Moschion's appeal to Laches in the *Kitharistes* (283K), the son's appeal for λογισμός in the *Imbrians* (247-8K), and Chaerea's self-defence in the *Eunuch* (877 f.).

[7] See the interpretation of Oppermann, *Hermes*, 1934, 273 f.; cf. also the young man in the *Epikleros* (Ribbeck, 91, VII).

Father and son are nearer to each other in the *Andria* than in the *Eunuch* or *Synaristosai*; but in the *Heautontimoroumenos* and the *Second Adelphoi* the relations between father and son (or adopted son) and their characters are the primary interest. Chremes, the father of Clitipho in the *Heautontimoroumenos*, is officious: he thrusts his unwanted attentions on Menedemus, cloaking his curiosity with a pretence of 'philanthropy' (77).[1] A more serious defect is insincerity, for which he criticises Menedemus (154);[2] yet Clitipho knows that his father's sermons are inconsistent with his father's youthful escapades (200 f., 220 f.) and later Chremes himself preaches insincerity both to Menedemus and to Clitipho (478, 575). He deplores his wife's lack of foresight and prudence (632) but shows none himself. The light-weight Clitipho is the son he deserves. Menedemus' criticism of his son, like Simo's in the *Andria*, is irrelevant because Antiphila is not a hetaira, and his self-punishment, which gives the play its name, is excessive; Cicero,[3] basing himself on Peripatetic sources, quotes him as an example of the *sibi inimicus*, who, whether as the result of grief, passion, or anger, rushes willingly into evil. But his excesses proceed from genuine emotion and Clinia turns out better than Clitipho.

The keyword of the *Second Adelphoi* is *liberalitas* (ἐλευθεριότης), the conduct that befits a free man.[4] The old men had both been too poor in youth to enjoy themselves (106) but had then become well-to-do.[5] Micio had followed the town life of soft irresponsibility,[6] Demea the hard life of agriculture and family cares.

[1] Further instances of Chremes' officiousness (περιεργία: Theophrastus, *Characters*, XIII): 170, 185, 410, 497, 508. Walzer (*Hermes*, lxx, 198 f.) interprets Chremes' φιλανθρωπία as lacking in φρόνησις. Demea's use of the idea in the *Adelphi* (734) is near the sense in Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1452*b*, 38, and Xenophon, *Cyropedia*, VIII, 7, 25; for Micio on the other hand it is a skilful use of the dice (739 f.; cf. Plato, *Rep.*, 604*c*; Sophocles, fr. 947) to achieve the most humane result (cf. 104).

[2] Demea similarly regards Micio's whole way of life as insincere (*Adelphi*, 987).

[3] *De Finibus*, V, 10, 28. See Walzer, *loc. cit.*

[4] E.g. 57, 464, 664, 828. Aristotle, *Ethics*, IV, 1, contrasts ἐλευθεριότης (liberality) with ἀσωτία (prodigality) and ἀνελευθερία (meanness).

[5] Perhaps the two poor men in the *Imbrians* had similarly become well off before the play started.

[6] Cf. Demeas in the *Samia*, 197 (cf. Rylands Bulletin, XXX, 130 f.) and frs. 749K, 807K, quoted by Wehrli, *Motivstudien*, 82.

Demea is 'thrifty' by nature (45, fr. 10K) and not only because he is old.[1] He educates his son by fear (75) and by precepts (415=631K?), like Chremes in the *Heautontimoroumenos* (210); Ctesipho as a result is neither stable (274) nor candid. Demea regards the conduct of Micio not as 'liberality' but as 'prodigality,' and expects for Aeschinus the typical prodigal's end, military service in Asia (384); when Demea apes Micio at the end (877 f.), he conforms to the bad type of prodigal in Aristotle, who 'take from the wrong source and are to this extent mean' (1121*a*, 30).

Aristotle describes another kind of prodigal, who 'is much better than the mean man. He is easily cured both by growing up and by lack of money, and he may easily move towards the mean. For he has the characteristics of the liberal man: he gives and does not take, but does neither rightly or well. If he were accustomed to this or changed in some other way, he would be liberal' (1121*a*, 19). This is the foundation of Micio's theory of education. He claims that there are signs which make it possible to distinguish between those who can do something safely and those who cannot (821 f.); Aeschinus and Ctesipho are sensitive and intelligent, have some sense of shame, are fond of each other (cf. 271); in fact show all the signs of a liberal character; therefore they can be guided by their sense of honour and their 'liberality'[2] rather than by fear (57), and their excesses will be over in their youth when they do not greatly matter (108). Aeschinus at least, except for his long hesitation in telling his father about Pamphila (684), justified the confidence placed in him, and though, as in the *Heautontimoroumenos*, the truth lies somewhere between the views of the two old men, Micio is more nearly right than Demea.

It is justifiable to call these plays Social Criticism because Menander is criticising views prevalent in Athenian society and suggesting a remedy. Young men may be ruined by greedy hetairae but marriages on a cash or family basis may also be disastrous. In both cases a human relationship is spoiled by

[1] Wehrli, *op. cit.*, 72 f., compares 834 with Aristotle, 1121*b*, 12.

[2] *pudore et liberalitate*, cf. 730K, and Ribbeck, 170, I (*Anepsioi*).

a wrong value set on money; that is why the contrasted terms 'prodigality, liberality, meanness' bulk so large in the *Second Adelphoi*. Human relationship is only possible where neither party considers financial gain: for this reason Selenium is contrasted with Gymnasium and Antiphila with Bacchis. On the other hand, 'liberality' can be confused with 'prodigality' and there is a truth in Demea's criticism of Micio: 'your reputation for being easy-going and cheerful does not come from living sincerely or from your fairness and goodness but from your acquiescence and indulgence' (*Ad.* 986 f.). In practice Micio had crossed the boundary which separates the πρᾷος and ἡδὺς from the μαλακὸς (cf. particularly 147 f.); but in theory he is right when he pleads for a nice discrimination applied to each individual case, which is what Demea really means by 'living sincerely' and by 'fairness and goodness.' Menander has allowed Demea a true criticism of Micio and he allows Chremes in the *Heautontimoroumenos*, in spite of his general insincerity, a true criticism of Menedemus, who had mistaken Antiphila for the conventional hetaira (151): 'you did not know Clinia well enough nor he you: how does this happen? Where life is not sincere.' The conventional judgment of the older generation excluded as impossible the idealism of a Melaenis or Thais. Yet in these relationships where strong physical forces are released (how strong can be seen from Chaerea in the *Eunuch* and the youth in the *Phasma*) the ready-made judgments of convention are useless and the nicest discrimination is needed. This is Menander's view, essentially the same view that he puts forward in the Plays of Reconciliation or when he calls Greeks (617K) 'men of judgment who do nothing without consideration.'

III. Kolax and Eunuch.

Terence says that he introduced a parasite and boastful soldier from Menander's *Kolax* into Menander's *Eunuch* (*Eun.* 30); and three of the fragments of the *Kolax* recur in Terence's *Eunuch*, proving that 11. 238 (= fr. 296K), 426 (= fr. 300K), 498 (= fr. 297K) were transferred to that play from the *Kolax*; moreover Donatus notes on 228 *haec apud Menandrum in*

Eunucho non sunt . . . sed de Colace translata sunt. The papyrus fragments of the *Kolax* show the general situation : a young man is in love with a girl, who is in the power of a *leno*, and fears that the *leno* may give her to a soldier. In the *Eunuch* on the other hand, Thais is an independent hetaira with two rival lovers. Menander called her Chrysis (Persius, *Sat.* 5, 165), and as Chrysis is a hetaira-name in fr. 295K, it seems to me impossible to follow Kuiper [1] in believing that she turned out in the end to be an Athenian woman of noble birth.

The safest starting ground for separating the *Eunuch* and the *Kolax* is the quadruple quotation from the *Kolax* in *Eunuch*, 228, 238, 426, 498. Phaedria (Chairestratos in Menander) has given his last instructions to Parmeno (Daos in Menander) and has gone. As Parmeno soliloquises, he sees Gnatho bring Pamphila to Thais' house. The long soliloquy of Gnatho belongs to the *Kolax* (238 = fr. 296K), and that Gnatho spoke it in the *Kolax*, is proved by the play on *Gnathonici* and *Platonici* in 264 ; [2] his name occurs in the papyrus fragment (68-69). The following dialogue between Gnatho and Parmeno (265 f.) belongs to the *Eunuch*, since Parmeno must see Pamphila arrive in order to be able to find her again for Chaerea, but in Menander Gnatho's place must have been taken either by Phaedria's rival or by that rival's parasite or slave.[3] Gnatho appears again with Thraso at the beginning of Terence's third act ; after the first line everything except the interjections of Parmeno (394, 418, 431) comes from the *Kolax* until l. 434, where Thraso mentions Thais' suspicion that he is in love with the girl.[4] There Terence returns to the *Eunuch*, presumably a dialogue between Phaedria's rival and whoever had talked with Parmeno before (265 f.) ; the latter goes before the next scene, probably with the words that Terence has delayed till 499-500 : *X.*—

[1] *Griekscbe Origineelen*, 16 : he makes her the daughter of Simon and finally marries her to Phaedria.

[2] Buechner, *Stud. ital.*, 1937, 156, disagrees on insufficient grounds.

[3] Drexler, *Hermes*, 1938, 83, assumes a slave ; Kuiper, *op. cit.*, 42, the rival himself. The younger Bacchis was brought to her sister by a slave (*Bacch.*, 577), but a parasite brought the elder Bacchis the first ultimatum from the soldier (575).

[4] This motif was used in a much fuller form in the *Leucadia*.

But Thais is coming out.' *Rival*—'You run on ahead and see that all is ready at home.' *X.*—'It shall be done.' Phaedria's rival and Thais are alone until Parmeno comes out with the disguised Chaerea.[1] With 498 (= fr. 297K[2] repeating 426 = fr. 300K) we return for a moment to the *Kolax* and Kuiper[3] is surely right in thinking that Terence has also adapted 494-495 from that play.

In these two scenes, the *Kolax* characters supplant the *Eunuch* character (or characters) in the *Eunuch* situation but bring with them also a recognisable stretch of a *Kolax* scene. They next appear in the siege scene (771-783, 811-816). Körte says that 'in no scene of Menander so far have more than three speakers been proved.'[4] As Chremes and Thais must both be present in the *Eunuch* scene, Gnatho cannot be there as well as Thraso, and the siege scene must belong to the *Kolax*. In the *Kolax* siege Sanga was probably silent like Habrotonon in the *Perikeiromene* (226 f.) and Gnatho-Strouthias and Bias met a single speaking adversary. Here too Terence has worked in the same way, but in the final appearance of Thraso and Gnatho (1025 to the end) I can see nothing except minor touches come from the *Kolax*,[5] because in the *Kolax* the soldier cannot share the girl, if Pheidias marries her. That Phaedria's rival in the *Eunuch* should hope to share Thais is possible; the situation is roughly parallel to the Nicobulus, Cleomachus, Chrysalus triangle in the *Bacchides* (842 f.), and I suspect that here, too, the go-between is Parmeno (Daos).

[1] His first lines are 394 (cf. *Perik.*, 61) followed by 462. 457-8 and 459-61 are Terence's 'padding' (cf. Drexler, *op. cit.*, 85), as are Gnatho's remarks in this scene.

[2] Plutarch quotes fr. 297K, which Terence gives to Gnatho, in the following context: 'like Strouthias meeting Bias and trampling on his tastelessness by complimenting him "You have drunk more than Alexander the King" and "I am laughing because I remember your jest against the Cyprian".' Plutarch's first quotation occurs again in a longer quotation from the *Kolax* (293K), which names Strouthias in the vocative; Bias is attested by the papyrus fragment (33); either there were two parasites in the *Kolax* or Gnatho became Strouthias when he talked to Bias (Jensen quotes the *Curculio* where Curculio becomes Summanus to hoodwink the *leno*). This is preferable.

[3] *Mnemosyne*, LIX. 182.

[4] *R. E. Menandros*, 755. On the difficult recognition scene of the *Misoumenos*, see RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXIX, 385, n. 3.

[5] Cf. however, Kuiper, *Mnemosyne*, LIX, 183.

Finally the Antipho scene. According to Donatus (on 539) Antipho was introduced to prevent the long soliloquy which Chaerea spoke in the Menander play. It is easy to strike out all Antipho's interruptions, the exposition (560-574) [1] and the conclusion (607-614). But the admirable opening speech of Antipho (539-545) seems to come from Menander, and if from Menander, what source is more likely than the *Kolax*?

We can now consider the plays separately. How much had Terence altered the beginning of the *Eunuch*? Persius' summary (5, 161 f.) gives a little more of the opening than Terence's version. The dialogue slides perfectly naturally into the scene between Thais and Phaedria; Parmeno is not needed in this scene and his dismissal (189) is a doublet of the opening line of the next act (207); his presence while Pamphila's citizenship is discussed (110) is undesirable in view of his future role.[2] The complicated past history of Pamphila, the state of the negotiations between Thais and Chremes (203), and the innovation of a kindly-disposed hetaira [2] need explaining in a divine monologue. In the plays of Menander where we have some check (e.g. *Perikeiromene*) the divine monologue is framed by at least one other scene. Therefore in the *Eunuch* another scene should precede the divine monologue. The most obvious loose end later in the play is Parmeno's remark (1000): 'The old man had long been looking for a reason to do something special to them (Thais and her household).' The opening scene may therefore have been a dialogue between Simon and Parmenon in which Simon, after stating his views on hetairae, was persuaded to go into the country by the news that Thais had shut Phaedria out of her house.

The first scene of the second act is a short scene marking the departure of Phaedria. In the second scene Pamphila arrives; as has been mentioned above, the dialogue of rogues (265 f.) belongs to the *Eunuch;* it seems therefore more likely that Pamphila is not brought by the rival himself but by a slave or by a comparatively colourless parasite; the scene has a general

[1] So also Kuiper, *Griekscbe Origineelen*, 19, 40.
[2] Cf. RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXIX, 148.

likeness to the Daos-Sosias scenes of the *Perikeiromene*.[1] The rest of the act is occupied by Chaerea.

The rival makes his first appearance in the third act. There is no proof that he did not come alone and soliloquise on the situation; in any case his companion must have gone before Parmeno arrived in l. 461, as has already been said, but there is no good reason to suppose that the opening scene was not a dialogue. It is not possible to decide who the rival's companion is until we have decided who the rival is himself. This is partly a question of deciding how violent Terence's surgery has been. The principle must be to assume faithful translation unless strong arguments can be brought to disprove it. The suggestion, therefore, that the *hospes* of l. 119 is identical with the soldier of l. 125 because only he could have recognised Pamphila and known that she was Thais' supposed sister [2] seems to me untenable even without the further extension that he turned out to be Pamphila's brother.[3] Wehrli [4] sagely remarks that 'Comedy, so far as we can see, only knows of *vetulus* or *miles* as discomfited rivals of the young man;' therefore Phaedria's rival was either a soldier or an old man in Menander and there seems no good reason to suppose that he was not a soldier.[5] If Phaedria's rival is a soldier, his companion is likely to be a

[1] Drexler thinks that the reference to six months (277) implies that Thais has promised herself to Phaedria's rival for this time, but this is perhaps to read too much into the promise (or threat) of one rogue to another.

[2] Drexler, *op. cit.*, 77; Kuiper, *op. cit.*, 27.

[3] Two arguments must be met: (*a*) if the purchaser of Pamphila did not know her identity, how could Thais know who she was before she saw her: the answer is that the soldier could have told Thais the girl's name and the name of the seller; 134-6 shows that he did not know of the relationship; (*b*) Thais appears to know of another child stolen with Pamphila (522): the answer is that Thais was extremely cautious in her examination of Chremes and guarded against mistakes. What evidence is there elsewhere of children of considerably differing ages disappearing?

[4] *Motivstudien*, 104.

[5] The obscenity of l. 479 seems to fit a soldier better than any other character, and the cross-references between *Eunuch* and *Thrasyleon* are more easily explained thus (*Eun.*, 480, with Ribbeck, 109, II; *Eun.*, 486, with 244K). If Phaedria's rival is a soldier and Chremes a rustic (Donatus on 507), it is tempting to suggest that they are pale reminiscences of an earlier play where their relations to a grasping hetaira was the central interest (such a play is preserved in the *Truculentus*).

parasite rather than a slave, since it is difficult to imagine, e.g. Sosias of the *Perikeiromene* advising Polemon how to behave at dinner. Terence's innovation lies in making the soldier and his parasite much more important by introducing stretches of the *Kolax*. Phaedria's rival has no great importance in the *Eunuch* and it is unlikely that any long discussion took place between him and Thais in Act III, Scene ii, before the arrival of Parmeno with the disguised Chaerea.[1] Parmeno vanishes when he has fulfilled his commission (491), and like Parmenon in the *Samia* (86/296) does not reappear until the fifth act (923). The reminiscence of the *Kolax* (498) has probably been substituted for a short monologue by the soldier while Thais takes Chaerea inside. Then she gives her parting instructions to Pythias through the door.

Drexler[2] argues that Chremes' soliloquy (507 f.) implies that he has already met Thais, which is incompatible with her earlier statement (203-206). But when Thais says there ' I hope I have almost found her brother,' she surely means that she has found (and presumably has seen) her man but cannot clinch the identification until Pamphila herself arrives; when she knows that Pamphila has arrived, she sends again for Chremes.[3] According to Kuiper[4] the act ends with the withdrawal of Chremes, and Chaerea's monologue belongs to the beginning of the next act. Although this has the advantage of giving Chaerea more time, it brings his monologue much too close to the monologue of the returning Phaedria. A parallel for a long monologue late in the act is Moschion's monologue in Act III of the *Perikeiromene*.

Act IV begins with Dorias' description of the dinner party at which Thraso mistakes Chremes for Phaedria. The description is a good preparation for later scenes, like Onesimos' description in the *Epitrepontes* (558). The reason for Dorias'

[1] Cf. however, Drexler, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Chaerea is mute in this scene.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 75. Note the parallel between Chremes' attitude here and Pistoclerus' at the beginning of the *Bacchides*.

[3] This is argued at great length against Drexler by Knoche in *Hermes*, 1941, 252 f.

[4] *Griekscbe Origineelen*, 41.

return—to save Thais' jewellery [1] from a possible rough house (628)—is sufficient, but it is intolerable that Dorias should hang about the stage during Phaedria's monologue; [2] she is unnecessary in the succeeding scene with Pythias and cannot be present in the scene with Dorus, in which the three speaking actors must take the parts of Phaedria, Pythias, and Dorus. In fact Dorias seems to be the result of Terentian multiplication and thickening up. Pythias was told by Thais to bring Chremes to the dinner-party, while other women watched Pamphila (503-506). In Menander therefore Pythias probably carried out this order herself (538). Pythias returns at the beginning of Act IV with the account of the dinner party and goes into the house before Phaedria arrives (628). She soliloquises briefly while Phaedria fetches Dorus (664) and again at the end of the interrogation scene (718-726). As soon as Thais appears, Pythias probably retires, because she does not want an interview with Thais until she must. Thais calls her out to fetch the chest of tokens (753).[3]

Why Chremes, having left the party after Thais (735), arrives before her is an unsolved problem.[4] If we agree with Wehrli [5] that the drunk Chremes reads like pure Menander and is much too good to lose, we must assume that Menander admitted the inconsistency so as to introduce the scene. In the next scene Chremes is sober but fearful of what the soldier may do; but when the soldier arrives Chremes drives him away. This swift change of moods has also found critics [6] and the sequence may have been clearer in Menander than it is in Terence. Instead of the siege party, which comes from the *Kolax*, the

[1] Parry quotes *Heaut.*, 288, *Aul.*, 747, for this. Cf. Caecilius Statius' *Nauclerus* (from Menander), fr. III Ribbeck 55: *suppilatum est aurum atque ornmenta omnia.* Knoche has proposed a more elaborate solution (*Hermes*, 1941, 266 f.).

[2] Cf. Drexler, *Hermes*, 1938, 92-93, who, however, has another solution.

[3] Cf. *Perikeiromene*, 328.

[4] The similar case in *Aulularia*, 701 f. is fully explained.

[5] *Motivstudien*, 105 f. Contrast Drexler, *Hermes*, 1938, 94 f.

[6] E.g. Kuiper, *Griekscbe Origineelen*, 21 f.; Drexler, *Hermes*, 1938, 95 f. Cf., however, Pistoclerus in the *Bacchides*, Alcesimarchus in the *Cistellaria*, Moschion in the *Samia*.

soldier arrives alone; he wants Pamphila and not Thais now, and is foiled by Chremes' claim that Pamphila is an Athenian citizen.

The fifth act returns to the Chaerea story. Thais' promise to Chaerea that he shall be present when the final identification of Pamphila is made (893) [1] precludes the possibility of a recognition scene on the stage,[2] since no less than five people would be present and speaking—Thais, Pamphila, Chremes, Sophrona and Chaerea. The return of Parmeno (after a long absence as in the *Samia*), the duel of Parmeno and Pythias, the scene between the old man Simon and Parmeno (again like the Demeas-Parmenon scene of the *Samia*), and Parmeno's further duel with Pythias seem to come straight from the original and should lead directly into the next scene with Chaerea (1031); the introduction of Thraso and Gnatho here (1025) is Terence's padding. The following seems to me the most likely reconstruction of the rest. Chaerea returns home at last to change his clothes soon after the arrival of Phaedria. Phaedria goes into Thais' house and Parmeno is left on the stage. Thraso then appears to surrender to Thais (1025 f.) and Parmeno tells him what, in Terence's version, he overhears. He begs Parmeno to persuade Phaedria that he may still have some share of Thais (1055). Then Thais' door sounds and he is astonished to see Phaedria whom he had thought of as Chremes (1029; this refers to Chaerea in Terence, but in Menander to Phaedria, cf. 794). Parmeno acts as go-between (1068) and Thraso retires contented if deceived. Perhaps no further scene is necessary.

The main lines of the story of the *Kolax* have been made out

[1] Chaerea's embarrassment at his clothing (906) is parallelled in fr. 736K, which suggests that this touch is Menander and not Terence.

[2] Drexler, *Hermes*, 1938, 76; Kuiper, *Griekſche Origineelen*, 21 f., have made ingenious suggestions for restoring it, but it should be noticed that the three surviving scenes of Menander where tokens are displayed are very special variations of the well-worn theme: in the *Epitrepontes* (200) the supervention of Onesimos converts the counting of swag into a recognition; in the *Perikeiromene* (338) the routine scene is given a new flavour by the gradual enlightenment of the eavesdropping Moschion; in the *Cistellaria* (658) the tokens are themselves 'foundlings' at the moment when they are recognised. In the *Eunuch* no such variation is possible and Menander omits the routine scene.

by Kuiper.[1] He has suggested that Gnatho is the ancestor of Apollodorus' Phormio; his chief object is to help the youth Pheidias, and he calls himself Strouthias in order to deceive the soldier, Bias. The following notes agree with Kuiper in the main. In the first papyrus fragment (1-14) Pheidias laments the cruelty of his father who has left him without money.[2] Either before this, or perhaps more probably in the gap which follows, Pheidias has tried to extract the girl from the *leno* and has been told that the soldier Bias is both a rich and a powerful rival (Kuiper deduces this from 111). Soon after this Gnatho, who, according to Kuiper, has been buying supplies for the feast of the Tetradistai (11, 47), arrives for the first time and makes the soliloquy preserved by Terence in the *Eunuch* (232 f.). At the end Pheidias comes out and prays for the vengeance of heaven on his rival (15 f.). Gnatho, rather like Onesimos with Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes*, 726, comments on the injustice of the gods and instances Bias' rise to wealth and power, thereby confirming Pheidias' fears. Pheidias then tells Gnatho about the girl, whom he thinks the *leno* has already sold to Bias (56). Gnatho suggests some sort of action (ll. 62-65, cf. *Georgos*, 100K). Daos comes in and, when Gnatho has gone, warns Pheidias against flatterers (85 f.)[3] and perhaps goes on to offer Pheidias his savings (71-84).

The soliloquy of the *leno* (99 f.) should come soon after this; in the preserved portion of this the argument seems to be: 'Suppose you let Pheidias have the girl, you can tell the soldier various lies, but he will summon his companions and the result will be disaster either for Pheidias or for you. But now Bias trusts you and is off his guard and you will be able to arrange things in any way you like. Bias has the money. Pheidias wanted to buy, but if Bias sees it he will bring a storming party. It would be much more profitable to hire the girl out for three minae a day. But then Pheidias might steal her on the way and there might be a lawsuit' (120-122: these last lines suggest

[1] *Mnemosyne*, 1935, 165 f.

[2] Alcesimarchus in the *Cistellaria* (225) was kept at home by his father. Cf. also *Heautontimoroumenos*, 213 f.

[3] Plautus, *Colax*, fr. 2, belongs in this context.

that the *leno* knows that the girl is a citizen and fears proceedings to establish her identity; Naevius, *Colax*, fr. II, may belong to this context).[1] The *leno* seems to be on his way home (107) and probably has not appeared since Pheidias met him earlier; perhaps, like the *leno* of the *Poenulus* (449), he has meanwhile sacrificed to Aphrodite Pandemos on the day of her festival; like him also he may have met the soldier on his way home and is now expecting his arrival.

The arrival of Bias with Gnatho in the character of Strouthias is preserved in the *Eunuch* (395 f.). After the soldier/flatterer scene presumably the *leno* is called out of his house and agrees to Bias' terms. He returns into the house to fetch the girl and Bias (according to Kuiper's brilliant suggestion based on *Eunuch*, 494-495) leaves Gnatho to bring her to his quarters; Gnatho hands her over to Pheidias. Bias is told by Gnatho that the girl was taken from Gnatho by force, and for that reason describes the action as *contumelia* (*Eun.*, 771), Terence's normal translation of ὕβρις; Gnatho admits that he himself had run away in a panic (Naevius, *Colax*, fr. IV). Bias determines on a siege of Pheidias' house, as the *leno* had expected; Gnatho naturally plays the part of a 'discourager of battle' (as Donatus calls him in his note on *Eun.*, 771). Bias is of course routed by the claim that the girl is a citizen, but how this is worked we cannot say. It seems to me at least possible that Antipho, who as we have seen probably came from the *Kolax*, proved to be the girl's brother, and that this was discovered when he came to discuss the feast with Pheidias after Pheidias had carried off the girl and before the siege.[2] The *leno* presumably has also to face the unpleasant truth, and Naevius, fr. III (Ribbeck) may belong to his recognition of the claim. The play probably ended with the feast of the τεταδισταί (fr. 292). More than this we cannot say; but it seems likely that Menander's chief interest was the new conception of the parasite and the picture of the *miles gloriosus*.

[1] The general situation is very like that of the Diphilus scene preserved in Terence, *Adelphi* (155-196) as interpreted by Drexler.

[2] Kunst, *Studien zur gr.-röm. Komödie*, 73, also notes this possibility.

IV. Andria and Perinthia

Donatus (on l. 14) says that Terence transferred the first scene of the *Andria* from the *Perinthia*,[1] 'where the old man talks with his wife as in Terence with his freedman but in Menander's *Andria* the old man is alone.' The first scene of the *Perinthia* was therefore a scene between Laches and his wife (Laches' name appears in the papyrus fragment): the papyrus fragment proves the existence of a Sosias; but, as Terence habitually altered names, no connection need exist between this Sosias and the Sosias of his *Andria*. Sosias appears to be a freedman of Simo and to have set up as a cook.[2] If in the *Perinthia* Simo had had a cook in the house, Davus would not have been so suspicious (359 f.; fixed as *Perinthia* by 369 = 398K). Sosias should therefore belong to Menander's *Andria*, nor, unless we assume that the whole of the opening (172-183) was the work of Terence, is it easy to see how Act I, Sc. ii (Terence's enumeration), which is fixed for Menander's *Andria* by l. 204 = fr. 38K, could have been intelligible without a preceding Simo-Sosias scene. The beginning of the Simo-Sosias scene (28-47) reads like genuine Menander; but on Donatus' evidence evidently followed instead of preceding Simo's monologue.[3] The uncomfortable transition from Sosias to Davus in 171 f. of Terence' play was avoided in Menander by the insertion at this point of the divine prologue,[4] which told the facts about the parentage of Glycerium.

Thus the run of opening scenes for Menander's *Andria* seems to have been I. 1, Simo (alone); 2, Simo, Sosias; 3, Divine

[1] Körte, introduction, liii f., finds evidence for similarity of subject and dissimilarity of style, which Terence notes between the two plays (*Andria*, 9 f.), in the scenes with the midwife and the punishment of Daos. See also Prehn, *Quaestiones Plautinae*, 25 f.

[2] So Donatus on 30, 171. The elderly Syrus of the *Adelphi* is cook as well as slave (376, 420 f.).

[3] A similar scene has been assumed at the beginning of the *Georgos* (Rylands Bulletin, XXX, 137); *Samia*, 80 f., has affinities.

[4] ll. 215-225 are probably the remains of the divine prologue, although some parallel for the disclosure at this stage of Glycerium's condition is afforded by *Georgos*, 85 f. The equation of l. 218 with fr. 48K is unlikely: cf. Oppermann, *Hermes*, 1934, 262 f.

monologue; 4, Simo, Davus; 5, Davus. The opening scenes of the *Perinthia* were I. 1, Laches and wife; 2, Laches and Davus; 3, Divine monologue. It at least seems likely that Davus' remark about 'deceiving a useless and idle master' (393K) was made (and overheard by Laches) in the first act and certain that Davus in the *Perinthia* went off to find his young master in the market place (302, 357). The first Mysis scene was presumably common to both plays and in both plays introduced Pamphilus to the audience. Mysis' opening words about the drunken midwife (228 f.) are more likely to be Terence quoting the *Perinthia* than Menander recalling his own earlier play; in Menander's *Andria* Pamphilus may have soliloquised before Mysis came out. Kuiper has suggested that this scene was the first scene of Act II in the *Andria* to be followed by the arrival of Davus with more cheerful news; this seems very likely, although too much stress must not be put on the awkwardness of the transition in ll. 225-227, since Menander does sometimes leave the stage empty, particularly in the first act. The first act of the *Andria* therefore probably ended with Davus' departure to find his master and the second act began with Pamphilus' arrival followed by Mysis coming out on her errand.

The opening of Terence' Act II with the arrival of Charinus and Byrria reads like a Menandrian act opening and the second line (302) agrees with Davus' account in 357 shortly before the attested translation from the *Perinthia* (369). The whole scene therefore, including the figures of Charinus and Byrria, comes from the *Perinthia*.[1] The swift dismissal of Byrria (337) in order to avoid having more than three actors on the stage is clearly Menander. An earlier scene is necessary to explain Charinus' position (303) and the friendship between the old men (373, cf. 539). In this earlier scene, Charinus explained his hopes and fears. We thus get the following run of scenes for the *Perinthia;* I, 4, Charinus (or Charinus and Byrria); 5, Mysis and Pamphilus; II, 1, Charinus and Byrria; 2, Charinus, Byrria and Pamphilus; 3, Charinus, Pamphilus, Daos.

[1] The pair are similar to Pistoclerus and Lydus in the *Bacchides* (cf. *Andria*, 333 f., with *Bacchides*, 638 f.), Chairestratos and Simias in the *Epitrepontes*. Cf. also *Phasma*, 50 f., with *Andria*, 305 f. See also Kunst, *op. cit.*, 88, n. 3.

The beginning of II, 4 (Terence' notation), is *Andria* according to l. 406 (= 39K) and presumably carries with it the preceding scene (375 f.). The next scene (412 f.), as we have it, appears to be compounded both from the *Perinthia* and from the *Andria*. In the *Perinthia* Byrria played the well-known part of scouting slave [1] and therefore Daos was presumably not present; he must therefore have left Pamphilus after they had finally decided on a line of action, namely that Pamphilus should pretend to acquiesce in the marriage; this seems certain as the misinterpretation by Byrria is a good Menandrian motif not unlike Geta's mistake in the *Adelphi* (299). Simo and Pamphilus both go in at the end of the scene and Byrria soliloquises and then goes off to tell Charinus: this would seem to have been the end of the second act of the *Perinthia*. In the *Andria* the scene with Simo (416 f.) runs straight out of the Pamphilus/Davus scene, and when Pamphilus is sent inside (425), Davus unwisely elaborates his intrigue with Simo. Is this the last scene of the second act of Menander's *Andria*? There seems no reason for a break at all; Simo and Davus must be on the stage when Mysis and Lesbia [2] arrive (473 and 483 are fixed as *Andria* by quotation). The act ends in l. 531 when Simo goes off to fetch Chremes.[3] It seems possible that here again Terence has taken his act division from the *Perinthia* and that there the Third Act opened with a longer dialogue between Mysis and the drunken midwife.

The run of scenes numbered in our Terence as III, 3, 4, 5, are fixed for the *Andria* by 543, 592, 611 (= fr. 49, 43, 44K). The insertion of the Charinus scene from the *Perinthia* at 625 makes it difficult to see how the Third Act of the *Andria* ran. Chremes does not, as far as we know, occupy one of the houses on the stage and goes home at 594 to get preparations made for the marriage; there must be an Act end before he returns (740) and sees Mysis and the baby: to this scene belongs, of course, the scene before, which is fixed as *Andria* by 727

[1] Cf. *Aul.*, 607; *Perikeiromene*, 52 f., etc.; *Misoumenos*, 1 f.

[2] Lesbia was, of course, mute in her first scene in Menander; she only speaks in 481, i.e. when Mysis no longer appears.

[3] So also Legrand, *New Comedy*, 382; Kuiper, *op. cit.*, 105.

(= fr. 45K). The clearly marked parallelism[1] and contrast between the Chremes-Mysis-Davus scene in Act IV here and the Simo-Mysis or Lesbia-Davus scenes in Act II suggest that Act IV also began with the Pamphilus-Mysis scene (684), in which case 682-683 are 'Terentian mortar' and 702-714 are intrusions from the *Perinthia* planning scene.

In the *Perinthia* (625 f.) Charinus returns because he has heard from Byrria[2] of Pamphilus' treachery. Pamphilus' brief relation of what has happened (655 f.) has probably been shortened by Terence; what remains proves that Pamphilus knows that the marriage was fictitious and has now become real; the story of the *Perinthia* (however different the staging) cannot have differed much from Act III of the *Andria*. It is, however, difficult to believe that the dangerous play with the conventions of comedy—Simo's disbelief in Glycerium's birth pangs (473) and ridicule for the midwife giving her instructions through the door (490)—came in the early *Perinthia* as well as the *Andria*.[3] If Laches in the *Perinthia* overheard the drunken midwife or the screams of Glycerium, he suspected the truth but possibly Daos succeeded in persuading him that the story was all a lie. Symmetry with the beginning of Act II suggests that the Charinus scene begins Act IV; further fragments of it are preserved (691-692, 702-714). The two young friends have quarrelled and then are reconciled as in the *Bacchides:* the slave supervenes (we do not know whether Davus comes out with Pamphilus or whether Pamphilus later summons him out) and a new plan is worked out.[4] Part of the new plan is the careful arrangement, by the slave, of a tableau (dinner party in the *Bacchides:* baby here), which has a far greater effect than expected because of an unexpected arrival (the soldier in the *Bacchides*, Chremes in the *Andria*).[5] Part of the proceed-

[1] Note as a very minor point 756 = 461.

[2] 635 = 427. With this scene cf. *Bacchides*, 500 f., 530 f.

[3] Cf. A. Thierfelder, *Hermes*, 1936, 330 f., and the interesting treatment by Oppermann, *Hermes*, 1934, 273.

[4] Compare *Bacchides*, 692; *ut ad senem etiam alteram facias viam* with *Andria*, 670; *hac non successit, alia adoriemur via.* This is the δεύτερος πλοῦς quoted from Menander *Theophoroumene* (228K), *Thrasyleon* (241K), *Kekryphalos* (279K).

[5] Compare *Bacchides*, 844, with *Andria*, 732.

ings also is violent treatment of the slave by his master (*Bacch.* 799; *Perinthia* papyrus fragment; *Andria*, 860). If the close relationship between the characters [1] and action of the *Bacchides* and *Perinthia* be allowed, then the tableau scene must have occurred in the *Perinthia* as well as in the *Andria* for which it is attested (727 = 45K). The scenes in the *Perinthia* here presumably ran IV, 1, Quarrel and reconciliation; 2, Plan making with Daos (Charinus off at end); 3, Mysis, Pamphilus, Daos; then probably as in *Andria*.[2]

In the last act of the *Andria*, the recognition scene appears as a four-speaker scene: Crito, Chremes, Simo, Pamphilus. Terence wants to shorten because he still has a *Perinthia* scene to use. Donatus' quotation of l. 919 (= fr. 47K) proves that the three speakers in the first part are Chremes, Simo, Crito; Pamphilus therefore does not come out with Crito. Crito must go off after he has contributed the essential fact that Glycerium was Phanias' niece; Pamphilus then comes out and overhears the two old friends talking (like Moschion in the recognition scene of the *Perikeiromene*). The play ends with the liberation of Davus (956).

How far does the *Perinthia* run parallel with the *Andria* here? Körte assumes that the burning scene preserved in the papyrus fragment belongs to the same situation as the binding scene of the *Andria* (860 f.). The major difference is that Daos is being burnt at an altar on the stage, whereas in the *Andria* he is removed out of sight and the action can go on without him. The action of the *Perinthia* cannot go on until Daos has either been burnt up, which is impossible, or extinguished, which must therefore happen. What can cause Laches to stop burning Daos? Nothing new can be extracted from the dialogue; Tibeios and Getas are fellow slaves of Daos to whom he appeals in vain; so presumably is . . . ρίας (8); if ρ is certain, Pyrrhias is the most likely name as the character must be a slave; if ρ is wrong, Simias is possible. The sense of l. 13 f. seems to

[1] Mnesilochus = Pamphilus, Pistoclerus = Charinus, Lydus = Byrrias, Chrysalus = Daos, Nicobulus = Laches.

[2] On 796 f. Kuiper (108) argues that Crito must have noticed the baby: in Menander, Davus perhaps took the baby in on his *sententia* 795.

be: "Yes, Daos, it is easy to cheat an idle and easy going master." "Ugh." "But if you try it on a peach of intellects —do I touch you?" "Not you, master." "He who was so wicked and so bold is now terrified. Why didn't you find yourself some escape?" "I thought my information would win some gratitude from you."[1] "Light up the wood." Then Sosias breaks in: Körte remarks, "*Sosia (?) nuntium afferre videtur, quo Davi res mutetur,*" but Sosias has apparently already spoken approximately six lines before the preserved fragment begins; he brings no news, nor can anyone else as long as there are three speakers on the stage. The only course for Daos would seem to be surrender; and he is then presumably confined within the house and the action continues as in the *Andria;* at any rate when he next appears (*Andria*, 965), he does not know that Glycerium has discovered her parents.

If the scene ends with Daos' surrender, how does it begin? Did Daos cause his own troubles as in the *Andria* or was Sosias the cause? Sosias appears to be triumphing over a fallen enemy in his preserved words.[2] Sosias must be a slave; Laches is unlikely to have two slaves with speaking parts and Chremes' slave is unlikely to appear at this moment. But if Sosias is in fact Terence' Byrria, he should appear again on a scouting expedition, which has no effect on the action except that his return with the news that Daos is being punished (for quoting evidence that Glycerium was an Attic citizen?) duly sends Charinus back to find Pamphilus.[3] The end of the *Perinthia* is preserved, though probably somewhat shortened by Terence (e.g. 973), in the two last scenes[4] including the '*alter exitus suppositicius*'.

[1] κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν can hardly stand by itself without a verb; φίλατο may conceal the verb, e.g. κατέβαλεν. I am also assuming ἐκπόδων in 19 and something like ὤμην φρενουμένους in 20.

[2] The most likely meaning of 21 f. is 'Yes, for he has recently come with a rush (to complete disaster) and is surrounded (by fire).'

[3] The presence of Sosias/Byrria in the papyrus fragment stands in the same relation to *Andria*, 714 (preceding) and 957 (succeeding), as *Andria*, 412-431 stands to 374 (preceding) and 625 (succeeding).

[4] Notice the likeness in thought and expression between *Andria*, 971, and *Kuneiazomenai*, 2 f.

Something has already been said of the sympathetic characterisation in the *Andria*, particularly of Simo and Pamphilus. There is some evidence that the lines were harder and more satirical in the *Perinthia*. The drunken midwife and the burning of Daos were scenes of boisterous comedy. Charinus and Byrria were an amusing pair like Moschion and Daos in the *Perikeiromene*.[1] Of 'Pamphilus' we know nothing but Daos and Laches were different from their counterparts in the *Andria:* Daos, like Chrysalus in the *Bacchides*, considered difficult deceit the object of his life and Laches was πολυπράγμων καὶ βαρὺς.[2] The *Perinthia* was in fact an intrigue play or in Terence' phraseology *motoria* as distinct from *stataria*.[3]

V. Heautontimoroumenos.

Whatever may be the exact interpretation of the difficult words *duplex-simplici* in the prologue (6), Terence has here adapted a single Greek play to the Roman stage.[4] Apart from the impossibility of dissection, the fragments of Menander prove that his play as well as Terence' had a double plot: a line from Bacchis' speech to Antiphila (fr. 143K—*Heautontim.*, 384) and more than a line of Syrus' description of Antiphila (fr. 142K—*Heautontim.*, 285, 293) are preserved and the presence of Bacchis and Antiphila implies that Clitipho and Clinia were both characters in Menander's play.

There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that Terence has kept the main lines of Menander, and difficulties[5] would

[1] Cf. *Andria*, 337, and *Perik.*, 163. The coarse joke, *Andria*, 316, suggests an early date.

[2] The essential text is fr. 393K with papyrus fragment 13.

[3] I.e. he refers to the same distinction in *Andria*, 9 f., as in *Heautontimoroumenos*, 36 f. (cf. Donatus on *Adelphi*, 24).

[4] Cf. e.g. Wehrli, *Motivstudien*, 89; Kuiper, *Griekse Origineelen*, 53, and bibliography quoted by them. The Bembinus reads *duplex . . . duplici* as Mr. J. A. Davison has pointed out to me.

[5] Kuiper (75 f.) thinks Sostrata had been violated by Chremes before marriage and therefore exposed Antiphila. But cf. Posidippus, fr. 11K, 'Everyone brings up a son even if he is poor and exposes a daughter even if he is rich' (cf. also Rostowtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, 623). Kuiper (54 f.) also thinks Antiphila was pledged to Bacchis for 1000 drachmae and was paying off her debt; but there is no parallel for this relationship between a hetaira and a free girl. Syrus

hardly have arisen if he had also kept Menander's divine prologue, which no doubt explained the exact position of Antiphila. As in other plays, Terence has altered the first act; the question is how much. The dialogue of the two old men is presumably the first scene of original and copy, and although in theory Chremes talks to Menedemus while he is working (88), in practice Chremes leads Menedemus out of his house carrying his mattocks and Menedemus goes into his house again at the end of the scene (167).[1] In Terence, Chremes goes off to invite Phanias to dinner and returns at once, saying that he has been told Phanias has already gone (170-171). Although Chremes' fussy ins and outs are in character, here alone there is no break between his departure and return. Terence had no reason for inventing Phanias, and he must therefore belong to Menander; here then is the place, as Kuiper [2] has seen, for the divine prologue.

Terence may have cut yet another scene between the departure of Chremes and the divine prologue: the arrival of Clinia and Clitipho. Kuiper and Drexler [3] assume that they arrive before or after the prologue with Chremes' other guests; but, though anonymous guests may be able to arrive thus (they may do so also in the *Perikeiromene*), no parallel is adduced for characters arriving speechless under cover of a divine prologue. When Chremes returns from Phanias, he finds Clitipho coming out to meet him; after listening to his father's wisdom, Clitipho not unnaturally gives vent to his feelings (213-229); this speech must belong to what has gone before and the first act cannot end until he finishes. In Menander, he probably withdrew because he saw the revellers coming to form the chorus.[4]

The second act then opens with the impatient Clinia coming out to see if Antiphila has arrived; he is followed by the more timorous Clitipho (235); then Syrus arrives with Dromo, who

invents this fiction to satisfy Chremes (600) on the presence of Antiphila as well as Bacchis (cf. 336) and later successfully resuscitates the story when Antiphila has been recognised as Chremes' daughter (790 f.); his prime concern is to get money for Clitipho to give Bacchis.

[1] Menander used the refused invitation to the festival again in the *Dyskolos*.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 80. [3] *Hermes*, 1938, 72.

[4] This does not imply that the chorus had any more importance here than in the other plays of Menander (cf., however, Körte, *RE*, *Menandros*, 747).

in Menander was, of course, a mute character. According to Syrus, 'it is getting to evening and they don't know the way' (248); Körte[1] has argued that Terence has altered the timing in order to spare his Roman audience the impropriety of a meal with heavy drinking early in the day and notes the ἄριστον of fragment 146K, which he thinks belongs to the context of l. 455. The night is mentioned in so many places[2] that it is hard to believe that Terence introduced it. Probably, therefore, as in the *Plutus*, a night elapsed in Menander's play and the reference to ἄριστον is in fact a reference to the breakfast of the next morning. Syrus goes in with Clitipho at the end of the scene (380), and the next scene is played by the two women and Clinia, but it is possibly not incompatible with the three actor rule that Syrus should speak the last line (409) from the door of the house; Menander had at the back of his mind the recognition of Orestes and Electra in Sophocles' *Electra* and the entry of the pedagogue to cut short their excessive and premature rejoicings (S. *El.* 1326).[3]

The fourth act cannot begin with the Sostrata, Chremes, Syrus scene (614—the nurse in any case is added by Terence; Sostrata talked back into the house as she comes out and Terence has worked her words up into a dialogue). Sostrata must be overheard by Chremes and Syrus and therefore they must be already on the stage. But where does the act start? An obvious break comes after Syrus' brief soliloquy (561) and before Chremes comes out with Clitipho, but three arguments can be urged against this: Syrus should be on the stage when they come out; Clitipho's *deambulatio* (587) should start in the act before he returns (805); there seems to be a kind of balance within the third act made by Chremes' fussy departures and returns (502, 558), separated in each case by a brief soliloquy (possibly cut shorter by Terence than Menander's original design). The other possible break is after the departure of Clitipho (590); the next lines then represent the end of Chremes and Syrus' conversation as they come out of Chremes' house at the beginning

[1] *Loc. cit.* [2] 410, 461, 491, 519, 568. So also Kuiper, *op. cit.*, 85.

[3] Other tragic reminiscences: 125 with Aesch., *Ag.*, 410 f.; 161 with Eur., *El.*, 167 f. For a single line spoken by an *exangelos*, cf. *Adelphi*, 776.

of the new act; this has the further advantage of lengthening the third act and shortening the very long fourth act. Very minor points of difficulty arise in the fourth and fifth acts. In the scene where Bacchis transfers her lodgings (723 f.) Dromo and Phrygia were both mute in Menander.[1] In the last scene (1045) Menedemus is probably an insertion by Terence.

VI. Second Adelphoi

Kock's edition of the comic fragments quotes twelve fragments from Menander's *Adelphoi*. One of these (9K), which is translated by Terence in the *Adelphi* (804), is quoted from *Adelphoi β*, which implies the existence of an *Adelphoi α*. Of the others, frs. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10K are securely anchored in Terence' play (43, 200, 295, 605, 693, 866); frs. 4, 5, 12K can probably be ascribed to it;[2] but no place can be found for frs. 8 and 11K, which should therefore belong to *Adelphoi α*.[3] Terence' play also contains two quotations from other plays of Menander: Syrus' remark to Demea at 385 appears to translate fr. 123K of the *Dis Exapaton*, for which no suitable place can be found in the *Bacchides* of Plautus; this appears to be a slip of Fulgentius' memory—Demea in the *Adelphi* is also "twice deceived"—and therefore fixes Demea as Menander's name for this character; Micio was called Lamprias by Menander.[4] The second quotation is from the *Homopatrioi* (fr. 361K = *Ad.* 643); of the other two fragments of this play one is too corrupt to use (fr. 362K); the other (360K), as Kuiper has seen,[5] fits admirably into the context of Micio's defence of the two young men (826 f.). It is therefore very likely that this play had the double title of *Homopatrioi* or *Adelphoi*.

[1] Compare 748 with *Eun.*, 722, where also Terence had made a dialogue out of a monologue.

[2] Fr. 4 may have been contracted by Terence into *alius nemo respiciet nos* (353). Fr. 5 perhaps also belongs to Geta, particularly to his early mood (310 f.), cf., however, Kuiper, 135. Fr. 12K could belong to the later Micio/Demea scenes (i.e. 834, 880 or 954).

[3] I hope to treat *First Adelphoi or Philadelphoi* (= Plautus, *Stichus*) later.

[4] Fr. 6K is translated in its entirety by Terence (605-607): *quibus res sunt minus secundae* covers both πένης and μετρίως πράττων; *ad contumeliam accipiunt* = περισκελέστερον φέρει; *claudier* = καταφρονεῖν.

[5] *Griekſche Origineelen*, 162.

As in the other plays of Menander which he adapted Terence here, too, has altered the earlier part of the play; the major alteration is the insertion of a scene from Diphilus' *Synapothneskontes* and the first problem is to define the limits of the insertion and to discover what the insertion has supplanted. The opening scene is so like the attested opening scenes of the *Heautontimoroumenos*, *Andria* and *Perinthia*, and the assumed opening scenes of the *Eunuch* and *Georgos* (see above) that it must be Menander's opening.[1] After Micio's departure (154) the *leno* enters crying for help and the Diphilus scene begins.[2] Drexler[3] has shown that in the Diphilus play the young man has just seized the woman and the action takes place in the street outside the *leno's* house; he also notes that the name Sannio does not occur in this scene, while Parmeno occurs nowhere else. In Diphilus the *leno* fears that the young man, with whom he has never had anything to do before (177), will claim that his action was involuntary (162, 165); Sannio on the other hand knows Aeschinus and has done well out of him in the past (201) and this fits with Micio's account of Aeschinus (149), with Syrus' belief that Sannio will accept the price (209), and Sannio's later assessment of Aeschinus (237). Sannio's monologue, therefore, and the scene which follows it belong together, are compatible with the first scene but incompatible with the Diphilus scene; it seems, therefore, wanton to reject the identification of the opening lines of Sannio's monologue as Menander, when it is supported by quotation (2K), nor in view of the *Kolax* fragment (99 f.) is there any reason to be disturbed by Sannio's confused argumentation.[4]

The last words of the young man before Sannio's monologue

[1] Drexler, *Philologus*, Suppltbd. XXVI, 31-32, 36 inclines to a prologue of Syrus before the opening dialogue, but I see no justification for this; Varro's preference for Terence' *principium* rather than Menander's can surely refer to the alterations *after* the first scene.

[2] Cf. Beare, *Rev. Phil.*, 1940, 31-32, for the cross-connections with the *Rudens*. See also Tredennick in *Summary of Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* for 1941 (May).

[3] *Op. cit.*, 1 f., 9.

[4] Cf., however, Drexler, 7. With Donatus' *secundum illud Menandri* (on 200) compare his note on *Eunuch*, 46: *iungunt qui secundum Menandri exemplum legunt.*

raise a problem. He says (193): "Nor do I think she should be sold when she is free: for I claim her as free." Two choices are open: either this belongs to the Menander play and in the end the *psaltria* was recognised and married off to Ctesipho, or Terence has been loose in his earlier description of the girl in the Diphilus play as a *meretrix* (9) and in that play as in the *Kolax* the girl was finally freed, as the young man here threatens. The second solution seems to me right as there is no hint that the girl in the *Adelphi* is later recognised.[1]

With Sannio's monologue Terence is back in Menander; but how much intervening Menander has been lost? At the end of the first scene Demea has already departed to the agora, as we later understand (355), and Micio goes to the forum to find Aeschinus; Aeschinus himself and Syrus have not returned from a dinner party (1), and Ctesipho has been left by his father in the country (94). When Sannio pronounces his monologue, Aeschinus and Syrus are already in the house and expecting him (209), and Ctesipho arrives shortly afterwards, also expected (260). We are left with the double question: What is the past history and how did Menander tell it? The following seems to me the most likely reconstruction. At the dinner party Ctesipho told Aeschinus that the *psaltria* was being taken to Cyprus by Sannio on the next day and that he therefore proposed suicide (274 with Donatus *ad loc.*); the proposal was probably not more serious than Alcesimarchus' in the *Cistellaria* (639), although it frightened Aeschinus, seemed exaggerated to Terence, and has led to daring reconstructions.[2] Ctesipho then went home, perhaps after Syrus had proposed that Aeschinus should steal the girl (315, 367). The party went on and in the early morning (we cannot discount the eye-witness Geta (329) who would scarcely be abroad in the night) Aeschinus and his friends broke into Sannio's house and removed the girl, promising payment; Syrus apparently saw the business started and then went to tell Ctesipho—he did not meet Sannio (210). Aeschinus then took the girl back to a friend's house until Micio should

[1] I cannot accept Kuiper's ingenious suggestion that she is finally recognised as Demea's daughter.

[2] E.g. Kuiper, *op. cit.*, 129.

have gone out in the morning. Demea, who came into town early, heard the news on the way (88 f.) and on his return to the agora collected the false rumour that Ctesipho had also been in the raid (355), chiefly to provide material for Syrus' trickery. Menander's normal method of telling past history is a divine monologue and there is no reason to suppose that he did not use it in this play. If the divine monologue immediately followed the Demea-Micio scene, it was itself followed by the arrival of Aeschinus with the *psaltria:* Syrus then joined them to say that Ctesipho was coming. This completed the first act.

Sannio's monologue opened the second act of Menander's play and was followed by his scene with Syrus. The retention of Sannio through the scenes with Ctesipho and Aeschinus is Terence's "thickening-up." In Menander Sannio went when he had enlisted the services of Syrus (251). Geta's arrival (299) must also belong to this act, since he is even so slow enough in returning from the agora after seeing the raid. The stage is empty for a moment when Ctesipho goes in (287), but Menander does not confine this usage to the first act (cf. e.g. *Epitrepontes*, 557). On the other hand, when Demea and Syrus return (355, 364), they discuss what happened in the agora after Aeschinus arrived there (406) and this must belong to a new act; the second act ends therefore when Geta and Canthara depart (354). Canthara never returns with the midwife whom she has been sent to fetch, and the child is born before the third act is finished (486). It is useless to provide, as Kuiper does,[1] an occasion for their return after the child is born; either they return at the beginning of the act before Demea's entry (355) or they return by a back door. Terence might have cut out their return because with his change of the act end it would have immediately followed Canthara's departure, but, if we assume their return, we have to assume yet another scene in which the midwife leaves for home, and it seems more likely that Menander, if he thought any more about the midwife, assumed that she used the back door.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.*, 138.

[2] The evidence for the back door (assumed by Dziatzko-Kauer) is given by Dalman, *de aedibus scaenicis*, 92.

Kuiper [1] has suggested that the third act (according to him the second act) should end with Demea's departure (510). This has the advantage of giving Hegio more time to talk with Sostrata ; on the other hand Hegio then goes to the agora and returns within the compass of the fourth act (516, 592), which seems to disagree with the convention of this play. It is therefore perhaps better to keep the break where Terence puts it. The fourth act ends at 712 as Kuiper has seen ; [2] Demea cannot return from his lengthy wanderings in the same act (586-713) and Micio needs longer for his preparations (706-719). The fifth act is both long and eventful but has in fact no break as Demea is on the stage the whole time. With his more drastic reconstruction Kuiper [3] by telescoping the second and third acts, continues the fourth act to Micio's withdrawal (854). According to him Demea goes in too and at the feast, which is described by a slave (fr. 8K), Demea gets drunk and his ' recantation ' is maudlin. This is attractive at first sight, but the telescoping of the second and third act seems to me inadmissible for the reasons given above (an act break is essential between Syrus' departure to the market (286) and his return (361) ; moreover the stern father's discovery of the truth (789) should belong to the fifth act).[4] Demea's recantation, though completely different in matter, has affinities with Demea's second monologue in the *Samia* (110 f., particularly 134) ; there, too, an old man decides on a course of action which is ' out of character.' Nevertheless it is true that behind this monologue of Demea stand scenes like the rejuvenation of Demos in the *Knights* and the succeeding short balancing scenes are also in the tradition of the iambic scenes of Old Comedy. Terence has slightly obscured the structure by his usual process of " thickening up," by keeping Geta on the stage for the scene with Aeschinus (899-917) ; his editors have wantonly retained Syrus for the Geta scene (889-898) ; in the last scene of all there is no need for Syrus to be present.

[1] *Op. cit.*, 132. [2] *Op. cit.*, 134. [3] *Op. cit.*, 152 f.
[4] Cf. *Andria*, 900, *Heautontimoroumenos*, 915, *Eunuch*, 971, *Epitrepontes*, 704.

VII. Synaristosai.

Following the identification of the *Synaristosai* as the original of Plautus' *Cistellaria* by Fraenkel,[1] Suess published two articles [2] in which he established the relations of the fragments of Menander to Plautus' play and discussed the play as a whole; what follows is deeply indebted to Suess. The *Cistellaria* poses a double problem: the reconstruction of Plautus' text and through it the reconstruction of Menander's original.

The play starts with its name-scene, illustrated by Dioscurides' mosaic,[3] the visit of the *lena* and her daughter Gymnasium to Selenium in Alcesimarchus' house; Selenium is distracted because Alcesimarchus is to marry a relation from Lemnos "who lives next door here" (100), being, as is later (173) explained, the daughter of Demipho by his Lemnian wife. At the end of the scene Gymnasium takes over Alcesimarchus' house, Selenium goes home to her mother, the *lena* stays to reminisce on the circumstances of Selenium's birth (125, 130-132 are insertions from the succeeding speech) and then goes home. The half-tipsy loquacity of the *lena* is contrasted with the serenity of Auxilium who tells the whole story. Auxilium is the Greek *Boetheia*, assistance to an injured innocent, here Selenium;[4] Plautus appears to have altered this prologue in some respects; the end (197 f.) is clearly Roman and we may doubt whether Menander omitted all reference to Demipho's Lemnian daughter who was to marry Alcesimarchus.[5]

In Plautus the divine monologue is immediately followed by the arrival of Alcesimarchus; as this must be reckoned to the second act (see below), it must have been preceded by the chorus in the original. But this would bring the chorus next to the

[1] *Philologus*, LXXXVII, 114.

[2] *Rheinisches Museum*, 1935, 16 f.; 1938, 97 f., quoted below as '35/ and '38/. He has located the fragments in the *Cistellaria* as follows: 449K, context of *Cist.*, 515; 450 K, end of play; 451K = *Cist.*, 19; 452K, context of *Cist.*, 689; 453K = *Cist.*, 193; 454K = *Cist.*, 498; 455K, context of *Cist.*, 19; 456K, end of play; 558K = *Cist.* 89.

[3] Marx, *Rh. Mus.*, 1933, 192.

[4] Suess, '35/166 quotes *Perik.*, 18; cf. also, *Epitr.*, 180.

[5] Kuiper, *Grieksche Origincelen*, 173, founds on this his theory that Demipho is away in Lemnos to fetch the Lemnian daughter.

divine prologue and neither in the surviving originals of Menander nor in the Latin adaptations is there any evidence that Menander ever introduced the chorus immediately after the divine prologue. Therefore it seems likely that Plautus scrapped a scene after the divine prologue—the last scene of the first act. Such a scene is desirable from another point of view. We have seen Selenium and heard her case ; we have had various references to the next door house of Demipho and Phanostrata but we have seen nobody leave that house, although Lampadio returns during the next act and Demipho in the fifth act. It is a desperate shift to assume that Demipho returns from a foreign journey in the fifth act and this does not account for Lampadio ; Lampadio must leave in the first act, if he is to return in the second act. Phanostrata also, if she has not appeared before, should be named when she comes out (543). Menander therefore probably had a scene after the prologue in which Demipho discussed with Phanostrata the preparations for the marriage and Phanostrata persuaded him to send Lampadio to search for her daughter ; Demipho then went off to the *Boule* (776). Plautus has scrapped this scene and substituted for it some lines of prologue (180-189).

The second act begins with a long monologue by the lovesick Alcesimarchus, who has been kept six days in the country by his father ; then after a gap of about 90 lines he is talking to his slave (231 f.), who at the end appears to be persuading him to tell Selenium about the marriage (254 : *dari iussit pater*) [1] and the scene ends six lines later when Gymnasium comes out (260 : *sed quem hinc . . . foras*, 266 : traces of Gymnasium's name).[2] After another gap, which Suess assesses as 76 lines, the Gymnasium scene continues with Gymnasium's suggestion that he will marry the Lemnian if Selenium is kept from him (267-270) and then the wilder suggestion that he and Selenium ought to be shut up together. This produces Alcesimarchus' demand for an armed force to carry off Selenium but Gymnasium finally persuades him to go and try to win over Selenium's mother (301). There appears to be a certain parallelism in shape between the two scenes as both end with a wild outburst from

[1] Suess, '38/114. [2] Kuiper, *op. cit.*, 192.

Alcesimarchus, who finally yields to persuasion (231 f.[1] = 283 f.; 249 f. = 301 f.); it is probably therefore justifiable to assume a considerable opening section for the scene between Alcesimarchus and the slave to balance the 90 or so lines of the Gymnasium scene before l. 283. It follows that no other character enters in the 90 line gap after l. 228; it is difficult in any case to see who could intervene between Alcesimarchus and his slave. Alcesimarchus has still to explain how he escaped from his father in the country and presumably how he came to be imprisoned there;[2] he will also have something to say about the proposed marriage with the Lemnian. Suess[3] suggests the possibility that "the slave has been in the house during Alcesimarchus' absence and that Alcesimarchus obtained his first information about the new situation from him." By the new situation he means presumably the substitution of Gymnasium for Selenium. The only argument for this seems to be that somebody told Selenium about the proposed marriage (100, *resciverim;* add probably Caecilius, Ribbeck, 68, I) and it would be neater if the somebody were this slave. The chief argument against is the loss of the moment when Alcesimarchus, having screwed up his courage at last to tell his mistress about the marriage, expects to see Selenium and sees instead Gymnasium (260 f.). If, however, the slave comes with Alcesimarchus from the country, then the whole scene leading up to Gymnasium's appearance is parallelled in miniature by the scene in the *Adelphi* in which Aeschinus, having similarly taken his resolve, finds his father instead of Pamphila (610-636).

Having sent Alcesimarchus off to Melaenis and Selenium, Gymnasium is then faced with his father. A gap of 76 lines separates the scenes and is probably accounted for by the termination of the scene with Alcesimarchus and parallel soliloquies by Gymnasium and the old man who do not see each other until our text resumes (306). The old man has presumably pursued Alcesimarchus from the country; being, however, as weak a character as Antipho in the *Stichus* and Nicobulus in

[1] Suess, '38/106 compares *Poenulus*, 308 f., and thinks that here, too, a new section starts. For the general tone, cf. *Perikeiromene*, 77-161, *Samia*, 313 f.

[2] So Kuiper, *op. cit.*, 190. [3] '38/106.

the *Bacchides*, he is not proof against Gymnasium's charms and sets up as his son's rival, at least this seems the easiest interpretation of the difficult lines at the end of the preserved portion of the scene (371 f.).[1] But what in fact does Gymnasium plan to do with the old man? She is clearly loyal both to Selenium and to Alcesimarchus. In the role of Selenium she can either (1) desert Alcesimarchus for the old man and so get him away with his suspicions lulled—but then no obstacle remains to the marriage of Alcesimarchus and the Lemnian, or (2) remain true to Alcesimarchus and drive the old man away in the hope that he will see the seriousness of the position and call off the marriage. The second seems more likely because we know that shortly afterwards Gymnasium was fetched away by the *lena* (546). Less than 40 lines separate the old man's declaration of love (371) and the re-opening of the text (385), where Lampadio seems to be speaking.[2] In these 40 lines the old man has gone, the *lena* has come, and both women have gone into the house before Lampadio arrives. Therefore, on mere grounds of space it is probable that the *lena* arrives before the old man departs and possible that they choose her as arbitrator (cf. 372).[3] The old man says: "I demand (*stipulor*) that you promise (*spondere*) me your daughter"; the *lena* answers (374): "You ask me to answer with a promise (*respondere*). I always make my own demands (*stipulari*) from men. That is my trade to promise nothing to men"; then the old man (377): "if you would make your demand, as far as my small fortune allows, ..." The old man is sent packing, because the *lena* has better business for Gymnasium —that is probably the reason why she has come at all; Gymnasium on her part is ready to go because the return of Alcesimarchus has released her (309). The two women go into the house to fetch Gymnasium's belongings and Lampadio arrives. Lampadio describes his loyalty to his mistress (381), his fruitless search and the miserable women he has met (382-408).[4] Then

[1] So Suess, '38/121. On the motif see Wehrli, *Motivstudien*, 56 f. Gymnasium is again mistaken by Lampadio, 550 f. Cf. the comedy of errors in the *Hiereia*. [2] Suess, '38/130. [3] *Ibid.*, '38/122, proposes another explanation.

[4] Ox. Pap., 1803, 1, seems to belong here and shows that the play contained a scene in trochaic tetrameters.

the women come out and go off (378-380, misplaced by Lindsay); Lampadio recognises them and after a short monologue follows. Fragments of this monologue make the sense clear, particularly 420 = 549, the exclamation of recognition (422), and 424 = 167. The act ended at 433.

Some 40 lines at the beginning of the third act are lost. When the text resumes (449), first Selenium refuses Alcesimarchus' advances and goes home (460, cf. 528, 630), then Melaenis scorns Alcesimarchus' oaths of fidelity. Suess [1] has given the most likely interpretation of this situation. Alcesimarchus had failed to find Melaenis and Selenium because they were visiting the *lena* and comes back to find them outside his house. Melaenis has brought Selenium back because the *lena* told her that she proposed to withdraw Gymnasium, but only on condition that Selenium will leave if Alcesimarchus returns; the compulsion to return is Selenium's position as housekeeper (111) and Melaenis does not yet know (because the *lena* did not then know) that Alcesimarchus has in fact returned. Selenium goes at 460; Melaenis dallies for a moment after Alcesimarchus has gone in (528) and sees Lampadio arrive. She overhears Lampadio's report to Phanostrata (the form of the scene recalls Pinacium's report in the *Stichus*); she then makes certain of her facts by interrogating Lampadio. Not unlike Demea in the *Samia* (134 f.), she sacrifices her own desires to the interests of her foster-child, but she wishes at least to have the credit for this. Therefore she forestalls Lampadio by warning the *lena* to be silent, so that when the *lena* keeps her rendezvous with him she merely delays him (653 f.); the meeting between Melaenis and the *lena* takes place in the interval between the third and fourth act. The *lena* then goes to her rendezvous with Lampadio, while Melaenis brings Selenium back.

Melaenis' plan is to a certain extent upset because, when she returns with Selenium at the beginning of the fourth act (631) and has already sent Halisca with the box of tokens to knock at Phanostrata's door (637), she is diverted by Alcesimarchus. Alcesimarchus is playing Ajax and like Ajax is seen

[1] Suess, '38/132.

meditating suicide through the door of the house;[1] when he sees Selenium he carries her into the house, pursued by Melaenis and by Halisca, who in her hurry leaves the box of tokens on Phanostrata's doorstep. By this time Lampadio has returned from his rendezvous with the *lena*, and Phanostrata comes out of the house in answer to Halisca's knocking (658 = 637).[2] Suess[3] suggested that the stages of Halisca's search (671) are modelled on Sophocles' *Ichneutae;* but the style is more reminiscent of the monody in the *Frogs* (1330 f.) and it may be therefore that Halisca sang like the girl in the *Theophoroumene*, who also had two spectators. At the end of the scene Phanostrata follows Halisca into Alcesimarchus' house. Lampadio presumably comments in a short monologue and goes to find Demipho, with whom he wants to be first with the good news, as it may mean emancipation for him (775, cf. 592).

Demipho returns before Lampadio, who probably arrives, as in Plautus, immediately after him. Plautus has scrapped the rest of Menander's fifth act and we can only guess at what it contained. Demipho must have an interview with Phanostrata and it seems likely that Lampadio is liberated as a result. The marriage of Alcesimarchus and Selenium must be ratified and only the two fathers can do this. Alcesimarchus' father should now return after a fruitless search for his son. The two fathers decide to acquiesce in the *fait accompli* and Demipho apparently felt no need to provide a marriage feast (or perhaps even a dowry). The fragment preserved from this scene[4] is a rather ironical commentary by the father of Alcesimarchus: "You are clever not to have to invite women or feast a crowd but to have made the marriage self-supporting." The charge of meanness[5] reflects the speaker's character rather than Demipho's.

[1] I have discussed the setting of the *Ajax* in *Introduction to Sophocles*, 119. An earlier reminiscence of *Ajax* in 527 = *Aj.* 480 f.; later in conscious opposition 649 = *Aj.* 589.

[2] For the delayed entry in answer to a knock, cf. Doris in *Perikeiromene*, 182 f. (RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXIX, 375).

[3] Suess, '38/134. [4] Fr. 450K interpreted by Suess, '38/140 f.

[5] Suess, loc. cit., points out that in Theophrastus (xxii, 4) the mean man when marrying off his daughter hires self-supporting (οἰκοσίτους) attendants for the marriage feast.

Alcesimarchus' father is mean (305, 365) as well as prurient, like Antipho in the *Stichus*.

VIII. Other Plays.

Anepsioi. A fragment of Afranius' adaptation (Ribbeck, 170, I): "parents' lives are worth little in their children's eyes when they prefer fear to respect" is so close to *Adelphi*, 57, that this may also have been an education play (cf. also 730K).

First Epikleros. Only two of the fragments distinguish the two plays; 172K from the *Second Epikleros* gives no clue; 167-168K from the *First Epikleros* seems to be a husband's account of the fussiness of his wife, who cannot bear the noise made by the birds and forces a girl to drive them away. This situation is incompatible with all we know of the *Comoedia Florentina*, which has been identified with the *Epikleros*,[1] but might suit the *Epikleros* of which we know that "a man and his wife went to law and their son gave the verdict"; [2] this play may therefore be the *First Epikleros*. Fragments of the Turpilius version seem to refer to this quarrel (Ribbeck, 91, III, VI, and possibly VIII). The quarrel between mother and father can hardly be anything that is known to affect the son, though its further consequence may be vital for the play, like the consequences of the arbitration in the *Epitrepontes;* possibly the mother tries to get rid of a slave girl as being inefficient (cf. *Plokion*) and the father explains that her domination as head of the household is intolerable (167-168K)? Certainly the son objects to a marriage proposed by his father (Ribbeck, IV, V), although like Pamphilus in the *Andria* he hates opposing his father (*Andria*, 262, Ribbeck, VII).[3] He has probably raped a poor girl, since someone is asked to "take pity on Calliphon's children" (Ribbeck, II) and then seeks out the father, tells him the truth, and he consents to the son's marriage (Ribbeck, X, IX, XI, cf. *Adelphi*, 438 ff.). Another fragment clearly derives

[1] Ulbricht, *Kritische u. Exegetische Studien*, 1 f., follows Herzog in identifying the *Comoedia Florentina* with the *Second Epikleros*. I hope to argue later that the play's title was probably *Heauton Penthon or Second Epikleros*.

[2] See Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.*, i, 468.

[3] Reading *conqueri Med* (or *Meque*) *esse suae parum obsequelae*.

from the night-walking prologue of Menander's play (Ribbeck, 91, I = 164K); neither fragment gives the name of the speaker; PH in the Latin version may be an old man Phania or a young man Phaedria. Two other fragments refer to a drunken slave, cf. Syrus in the *Adelphi* (763; Ribbeck, XII, XIII). Who is the Heiress? Not, I think, the girl whom the son refuses to marry; possibly the girl whom he does marry, but more probably the tiresome mother.

IMBRIANS. The Summary (Körte, 149) breaks off after a few lines and only tells that two poor Imbrians (friends, *not* brothers) married twin sisters and lived a communal life: one of them is presumably Demeas of the preserved opening line. One of them has a son who urges on him the virtues of "reasoning" (247-248K): this is a fourth-century version of Sophocles' Haemon (*Ant.* 683) and presumably here, too, is an appeal to an indignant parent not to take summary action in a love affair; Kock notes the relationship between S. *Ant.*, 728 and fr. 638K; whether the latter fragment belongs to the *Imbrians* or not, it is evidence for the Haemon/Kreon relationship in Menander. The young man (or his brother, who, like Moschion in the *Perikeiromene*, is often drunk (Ribbeck, 51, III, V, VII)) has raped a girl and concealment of her pregnancy is no longer possible (Ribbeck, II, said either by her mother, cf. *Georgos*, 87, or an old slave, cf. *Aulularia*, 74); she is presumably the daughter of the other Imbrian. We may guess that this play was not unlike the *Adelphi*.

KANEPHOROS. Alciphron's reminiscence of this play (III, 31) shows that the youth fell in love with the girl when she was a basket-bearer in a procession (cf. Arrhephoros). The young man spoke of the difficulties of philosophy and was warned of the certain misfortunes of the passionate (Ribbeck, 86, I; 253K). Perhaps like Selenium in the *Cistellaria*, the girl kept house for him and she had to provide a substitute (254K = *Cist.* 104) when her mother, in the young man's opinion "a foul-tongued old woman" (256K, cf. *Cist.* 536; *Heaut.*, 234), fetched her home. The mother perhaps saw his conduct as thoughtless exploitation by the rich (252K, cf. *Cist.*, 493). The reason was apparently that the young man had to marry an heiress (Ribbeck,

II) and no doubt a slave plotted to avoid this disaster (255K = *Heautontimoroumenos*, 610).

PLOKION. The word *Plokion* according to Hesychius means a necklace and the play should therefore be a recognition play, like the similarly titled "Kerchief" (Kekryphalos). If it is a recognition play, it is a play with a double plot, since the parentage of the girl who has been raped by the young man is known (404K). There is, however, the maidservant (fr. 402K) whom Gellius describes as "*haud illiberali facie*"; this probably translates πάνυ ἐλευθέριος, the phrase used to describe Plangon in the *Heros* (40). She therefore was probably recognised, but it is impossible to guess whose child she was or whom she ultimately married. The other plot concerns a young man (X), who is the son of an old man (A) and a domineering and unlovely heiress. A complains to an old neighbour (B) of his wife's appearance and of her behaviour to himself, to his daughter and to X (402, 403, 409K). X had raped the daughter of a poor man (C) at a night festival (404K; Ribbeck, 65, VI). His mother wants him to marry a relative (929K: said by the father?) and the marriage has been arranged for the day on which the action of the play takes place (Ribbeck, XII, said by the young man to his slave? cf. *Andria*, 328); the young man's protests against 'family' as the only criterion in choosing a wife (533K, cf. also Ribbeck, XV) have been unavailing and his slave, after a false start, has to think out 'a second way' (415K). C's slave, Parmeno (like C himself), knew nothing of the girl's condition; he first hears her cries in childbirth, then finds out the story (404K; Ribbeck, IV, V) and comments, like Daos in the *Georgos* (77 f.), on the disadvantages of town-life for the poor (405/6K). Two fragments survive of a dialogue between C and Parmeno (407, 649K, Ribbeck, VIII). Parmeno's part had clearly some likeness to Geta's in the *Adelphi* (335 f., 447 f.). That C does not go straight to A, but finds a patron, is shown by one of the Caecilius fragments (Ribbeck, XVI): 'I will go to the forum and act in defence of poverty' (cf. Hegio in *Adelphi*, 493). This is presumably said by B, A's neighbour, and he apparently intended legal proceedings (Ribbeck, XVII). A has then to explain (to his wife?) that C regarded the rape

as a crime of wealth against poverty (Ribbeck, XVIII; cf. again *Adelphi*, 500 f.). All will end happily: perhaps the mother's tyranny is broken by the discovery that the maid-servant is her own illegitimate child? The play apparently began, like the *Misoumenos*, *Epikleros* and *Dyskolos*, with a night-walking scene in which presumably X told of his love (Ribbeck, VII).

HYPOBOLIMAIOS. Menander called this play 'The suppositious son or the rustic.' The alternatives probably represent two characters as in the *Arrhephoros or Flute-Girl*. The two sons of Demea in the *Adelphi* afford the obvious parallel. Here Moschion is a character: 'the mother of the girl' saw him driving a chariot at the Little Panathenaea (494K). On the analogy of other Moschions [1] he is likely to be the supposititious son, to live in the town, and to have raped a maiden. This last is supported by fragments which recall the Sostrata-Hegio scenes of the *Adelphi* (489K with *Ad.* 335 f.; 485K with *Ad.* 500 f., 605 f.). 481K, addressed to Parmenon, is a variation on the theme, miseries of old age (cf. *Theophoroumene*, 223K, *Plokion*, 407K), and should belong to the same situation. It was presumably the girl who was living in a miserable hutment

[1] Kock and others have connected with 494K a passage of Choricius where he says that 'of Menander's characters Moschion prepared us to rape maidens, Chairestratos to love flute-girls, Knemon made us irritable and Smikrines misers, for he feared that the smoke might carry off some of his possessions.' Smikrines is tied down by the smoke to the original of the *Aulularia* but a miserly Smikrines occurs also in the *Epitrepontes* and *Heauton Penthon* (= *Com. Flor.*); Knemon is only known from the *Dyskolos;* Chairestratos loves a harpist in the *Epitrepontes* and Chairestratos (Terence' Phaedria) loves a hetaira in the *Eunuch;* Moschion in the *Perikeiromene* was given to Myrrhine as a baby; in the *Samia* he was possibly a bastard (131) and certainly raped a maiden; in the *Kitharistes* Laches claims that Moschion's wild behaviour is proof of his parentage and he probably raped a maiden (cf. RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXX, 142). There is no reason therefore to restrict Choricius' reference to the Moschion of the *Hypobolimaios* and still less to refer his Chairestratos to that play. Caecilius' play contained a Chaerestratus and a passage in Cicero (*Pro Roscio Amerino*, 16, 46), if rightly referred to this play, shows that Chaerestratus was the little loved town son and Eutychus the much loved country son. Wilamowitz (*Schiedsgericht*, 138) suggests that Charippos (491K) is not the contemporary glutton but the second son and that Caecilius (like Terence later) changed the names of the original. This seems more likely than that the original had three (or even four) young men.

(Ribbeck, 49, VII). The father's preference for the country son and the complaint about women playing the leading part in the house (484K) suggests that Moschion was forced on his father by his (supposed) mother, as presumably his namesake in the *Perikeiromene*. That the country son himself is wholly virtuous is unlikely; Ribbeck, 49, V, may possibly refer to a quarrel between the two brothers (cf. *Andria*, 625; *Bacch.*, 534). Herzog [1] has made the very attractive suggestion that the Didot prologue was spoken by the country boy. The father was in any case cheated by a clever slave (493K), and the large sum put down to the account of 'harpers and geometers' (495K) was presumably diverted to other purposes; perhaps 482-483K is also said by the clever slave (cf. *Epitrepontes*, 722 f., especially 750).

PHASMA. The story is outlined by Donatus on Terence, *Eunuch*, prol. 9; a long papyrus fragment survives and two short fragments which tell us nothing except that a cook was one of the characters (501K). The father (A) of a young man, Pheidias, having lost his wife while the child was still young, married a woman, who had recently given birth to a daughter. The daughter's father (B), who was a next-door neighbour of (A), had an old nurse; she brought the child up in B's house, which had a secret passage to A's house known only to the mother. Pheidias saw the girl in the passage and first thought that she was a ghost: 'then little by little learning the truth fell so deeply in love with the girl that marriage was the only remedy for his passion.' The papyrus fragment consists of a long narrative speech and after it (the reverse order is impossible as there would be no space for the beginning of the narrative) a dialogue between Pheidias and a slave, who tells him that his sleeplessness and weakness is the unreal sickness of the over-rich and suggests an unreal religious cure. In the narrative speech someone (presumably the nurse, but possibly the girl's father) has warned a young man that, if he regards himself as the girl's bridegroom, he must be careful not to harm (?) the girl's mother by telling 'someone who has the same mother';

[1] *Philologus*, 1934, 195.

after reporting this advice the speaker goes on to describe the life of the girl and the secret passage. Who speaks this? Wilamowitz [1] argues for a god as speaker; Körte for the young man; ll. 7-10 seem to me decisive; a god must have indicated the reaction of the young man to the advice given to him and there is no room for this; l. 19 'for you (plural) probably still want [to learn this]' can be said by the young man; the audience are addressed three times in the *Samia*.[2] But who is the young man and who the 'someone who has the same mother'? According to Körte the speaker is a rival of Pheidias who is warned not to tell Pheidias' step-brother who has the same mother as the girl. The obvious objection to this is that then there are three young men in the play, which is unlikely. Why cannot the speaker be Pheidias himself, and the other Pheidias' step-brother, as Körte has seen? All editors have assumed that this is a prologue; this assumption rules out Pheidias because he only gradually learnt the truth. But why should it be a prologue? The real prologue must have told the story of the secret passage but may have told it in much less detail. This is Pheidias soliloquising on his discovery perhaps at the beginning of the third act (like Demeas in the *Samia*). The occasion when Pheidias was terrified at the first sight of the girl must have been earlier and it seems to me possible that a fragment of it is preserved:[3] 'Master, what is on your mind? Why do you talk to yourself alone? You seem to be suffering from some great grief the way you walk about with the pale face of a philosopher.' How the play developed we cannot say, but presumably both the step-brother and the father provided hindrances. I should like to think that fr. 536K is a further description by Pheidias of his love (the only parallel situation that we can detect is in the *Eunuch*) and that fr. 531K, attributed by Wilamowitz to this play, contains the slave's comments.

[1] *Schiedsgericht*, 143, 1.

[2] Similar remnants of the Old Comedy manner of addressing the audience, *Aulularia*, 715, *Cistellaria*, 678 ff.

[3] Freiburg papyrus 12, quoted by Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, 107, 1.

APPENDIX: THE CHRONOLOGY OF MENANDER'S PLAYS

Any attempt to trace the development of Menander's art must rest on a chronological framework or at least a division of plays into early or late. The necessity of erecting this framework justifies the examination of the fragments of Menander in the hope that dates secured for fragmentary plays may confirm or support the dating of better preserved plays which cannot themselves be dated. The starting point must be the few dates provided by outside sources: 321 *Orge*, 312 *Heniochos*, 302 *Imbrians*.[1] A few more dates are provided by certain references to external events: the *Kekryphalos* (272K) and the *Aulularia* (498 f.) refer to the *Gynaikonomoi*, magistrates introduced by Demetrius of Phalerum (317-07) and abolished with his removal—they appear to be a new institution when the *Kekryphalos* was written;[2] the *Perikeiromene* refers to the 'Corinthian evils,' which have been interpreted as the first war between Antigonus and the coalition (315 B.C.), and more specifically (90) to 'a manager of armies' killed by his mercenaries, which probably recalls the murder of Alexander, son of Polyperchon, in 314 B.C.;[3] this would not be news for long and therefore both the *Perikeiromene* and the *Aspis*, which has a similar allusion (74K), can be dated soon after 314 B.C. In the *Eunuch* Chaereas is doing garrison duty as an Ephebe at the Peiraeus (290)—this dates the play before 301 B.C. when Ephebes ceased to serve outside Athens;[4] an upper limit can also be suggested: Thais' mother was a Samian, who migrated to Rhodes (107). Kuiper[5] assumes that she moved when the Athenian cleruchs were driven out in 322 B.C. and this is undoubtedly the event which 'Samian' suggested to an Athenian audience. Pamphila, the little Athenian girl who was given to Thais' mother in Rhodes, is 16 years old at the time of the play; if she was stolen by pirates at the age of two, the play cannot have been produced before 308 B.C., and it is perhaps more natural to assume that Thais came to Athens before the siege of Rhodes (305-304 B.C.) and Pamphila after it.[6] The relations between Athens and Rhodes were also mentioned in the *Thesauros;* considerably less than ten years before the play, at a time when Athens was at war with the Rhodians, the old man claimed to have buried the treasure because of a threat of invasion; it has been plausibly suggested[7] that the reference is to the Rhodian alliance with Antigonus in 314 B.C. and Antigonus' invasion of Attica in 313 B.C.; the play was then produced between 313 and 304 B.C.

These dated plays provide some help in dating other plays. Körte[8] notes that the *Orge* fragments (321 B.C.) ridicule Chaerephon, Ktesippos and Philippides, and infers that such jests only occurred in the early plays (there is no trace of them in the *Perikeiromene*, although more than a third of the play is

[1] Körte, *RE, Menandros*, 709 f.
[2] Körte, *op. cit.*, 721.
[3] Schwartz, *Hermes*, LXIV, 3.
[4] Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 121.
[5] *Grieksche Origineelen*, 247.
[6] The upper limit is 306 B.C. if, as Donatus says, *Andria*, 959 f, belongs to the *Eunuch* and quotes Epicurus (supported ably by Bignone, *Riv. de fil.*, II, 1924, 145).
[7] Kock, III, 67.
[8] Körte, *RE, Menandros*, 721 f.; Capps, *Four Plays of Menander*, 231 f.

preserved, or in the much longer surviving fragments of the *Epitrepontes*). Chaerephon was also mentioned in the *Kekryphalos* (soon after 317 B.C.), *Androgynos* (refers also to Lamia, 323 B.C.), *Samia* (Chrysis, as a Samian, probably came to Athens in 322 B.C., but her relations with Demeas need not be of long standing),[1] and *Methe* (allied to *Orge* by title: possibly the reference to Kallimedon [2] implies a date not much later than 322 B.C.). They are all quoted as figures of fun, a manner that goes back to Aristophanes.[3] Other names also can be dated: Körte [4] quotes the reference to the naval commander Aristoteles in the *Olynthia* and to the athlete Astyanax in the *Kolax*. Both need consideration: according to Körte 'earning four obols a day with Aristoteles' (357K) 'certainly refers to Aristoteles' expedition to Lemnos in the summer of 314 B.C.,' which ended in complete disaster. The Menander quotation sounds like the half-envious, half-scornful comment of a civilian on a soldier or sailor (cf. *Perikeiromene*, 189-202), and is therefore much more likely to have been written before the disaster of 314 B.C. A scholiast's note on the papyrus of the *Kolax* shows that Menander referred to the athlete Astyanax, who won six victories in the Olympiad, 316-312 B.C.; presumably the soldier Bias compared himself (or was compared) to Astyanax. Bias is also credited with having known five hetairae, two of whom were favourites of Demetrius Poliorcetes (i.e. 307 B.C. or later); Körte therefore suggests that the *Kolax* was produced several years after 316 B.C.; 312 B.C. or soon after is perhaps a reasonable date.[5]

Another hetaira, Nannion, is mentioned in the *Pseudherakles* (524 K); as she is also named by the Middle Comedy poets Antiphanes and Alexis and by the orator Hyperides, who died in 322 B.C., the *Pseudherakles* should belong to Menander's earliest period.

In Plautus' *Bacchides*, Menander's *Dis Exapaton*, Chrysalus says that Mnesilochus shall be more abused than ever Clinias has been by Demetrius (910); the reference is presumably to the sumptuary legislation of Demetrius of Phalerum and the time probably early in his rule (317-307 B.C.), because Clinias as a figure probably belongs to the Chaerephon group considered above and the two Bacchides

[1] Blake, *Classical Philology*, XXXVI, 397, agrees: he assumes Polyperchon's proclamation in 319 as a bottom date.

[2] Kallimedon escaped with Demetrius of Phalerum to Nikanor in the Peiraeus in 322 B.C. (Ferguson, *Hell. Ath.*, 33).

[3] I have omitted Charippos (*Hypobolimaios*) and Metagenes (*Empimpramene*): the former may be a character, the latter not a proper name.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] Büchner (*St. it. Fil.*, XIV (1937), 151 f.) dates *Kolax* to 304/3 (*a*) by *Eunuch*, 247. He says that the idea of invention and the image of the road are Epicurean and the whole speech a parody of an Epicurean sermon and a satire on Epicurean hedonism. The image of the road is a common enough metaphor and I doubt if either parody or satire are intended, except satire on the parasite, which is as old as Epicharmus. (*b*) by *Kolax*, 70 ff., which he takes as a reference to the Athenian flattery of Demetrius Poliorcetes in 307 B.C. Isocrates had used very similar language about flatterers in *Peace*, 3-4; and it seems to me unlikely that such a reference to the flattery of Demetrius and his hetairae would have been permissible in 304/3 B.C.

probably left Samos in 322 B.C.; one stayed in the East, the other came to Athens, but the memory of Samos should still be fairly recent.

Menander is not Aristophanes and his plays were not political in the sense that the Old Comedy was political, but his audiences must at least have demanded that his references to events in Athens, Greece, the Greek islands, or the East should make sense; we are therefore justified in trying to interpret these references chronologically. In the *Andria*, Chremes' brother brought Glycerium to Andros (935): *bellum hinc fugiens meque in Asiam persequens.* This event was some fourteen years before, as Glycerium in the play is sixteen years old; alternative suggestions for 'the war in Athens' are Chaironeia (338), the Lamian War and its aftermath (322-317), the invasion of Antigonus (313 B.C.), and the four years' war (307-304 B.C.).[1] Another factor is the position of Andros. The *Imbrians* was produced in 302 B.C., four years after Imbros had been handed over to Athens; Andros was 'liberated' by Ptolemy in 308 B.C. and must have been news for the next few years; if the *Andria* was produced some four years after 308 B.C., then the 'war in Athens' means the disturbances that followed the death of Antipater, and Chremes was in Asia about 320 B.C. Lemnos freed herself from Athens in 315 B.C. and did not become Athenian again until 305 B.C. Between these dates plays in which a Lemnian takes a considerable part or in which travellers visit Lemnos are unlikely. The *Synaristosai* (Plautus' *Cistellaria*) and the *Heros* (cf. l. 46) have various marks which suggest that they are early rather than late and may therefore perhaps be dated before 315 B.C. Perhaps we may see a gesture of friendliness to Polyperchon, who had tried to give Samos back to Athens in 319 B.C. and ruled Corinth and Sikyon until 308 B.C., in the Sicyonian setting of the *Synaristosai*, in the name of the *Sikyonios*, in the Corinthian setting of the *Perikeiromene* and the reference to Corinth in the *Georgos* (6). In the *Heautontimoroumenos* the old woman who brought up Antiphila had migrated from Corinth some sixteen or more years before the date of the play (96, 629): if Menander was again thinking of the 'Corinthian evils' of 315 B.C. (cf. *Perikeiromene*) as the cause of her migration, the play can be dated about 298 B.C.; then Menedemus' foreign service (111) was in the time of Alexander or before,[2] and Clinia went to Asia (117) to serve under one when Ambracia was occupied by the Macedonians.

[1] Cf. Kuiper, *op. cit.*, 247, n. 2, who decides for Chaironeia because he believes the *Andria* to be a very early play. Johnson, *AJP.*, 1914, 326, decides for the four years' war because Athens then had control of the seas, but surely individuals could slip across the Aegean at any time (cf. date proposed for *Dis Exapaton*).

[2] Mr. J. A. Davison pointed out to me that Pausanias, i, 29, proves that Athenians could distinguish themselves in the service of the King of Persia. Dietze, *de Philemone comico*, 13, n. 2, dates Clinia's service between the adoption of the kingly title by Ptolemy, etc. (305 B.C.), and the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.). of the kings about the time of the Battle of Ipsus; he returns to find Athens 'safe' (194), which would perhaps be a reasonable description of the government of the Moderates after 301 B.C. and before Demetrius' siege in 295 B.C. It is possible that the *Olynthia* and *Perinthia* owed their names to some memory of the gallant defences put up against Philip and may have therefore have been

Neither Clinia in the *Heautontimoroumenos* nor the soldier of the *Eunuch* seem to have won much spoil in the East; the great days of Eastern spoil are earlier. They are reflected in the *Stichus* (Menander's *First Adelphoi or Philadelphoi*), in the *Halieis*, which speaks of gold from Kyinda (the Persian treasure was transferred there from Susa in 321 B.C.) and in the wealth of Bias in the *Kolax*. Though only recently rich, Bias was an old soldier and it is unnecessary to decide in which of the many campaigns in Cappadocia down to the defeat of Cassander in 315 B.C. he had distinguished himself as a drinker (293K).[1] The soldier of the *Eunuch* left Thais to go to Caria (125); if the dating suggested above is right, he may have been in Caria when Ptolemy seized bases there in 309 B.C. The soldier of the *Misoumenos* did very well under one of the kings in Cyprus (340K); the kings were liquidated by Ptolemy in 310 B.C. A date soon after 317 B.C. has been suggested for the *Bacchides* (*Dis Exapaton*); Mnesilochus has been some two years in Ephesus collecting a debt; perhaps Menander chose Ephesus because Antigonus had captured it in 319 B.C. In the *Kitharistes* also, both Phanias and Moschion have been visiting Ephesus, but this connection is too slight on which to build.

External evidence gives us no help in dating the *Epitrepontes*, Terence' *Adelphi* (Menander's *Second Adelphoi or Homopatrioi*), or Plautus' *Poenulus* (Menander's *Karchedonios*). The general scheme and problem of the *Adelphi* is so like that of the *Heautontimoroumenos* that it is difficult to believe that a long interval separates them. Wehrli [2] has argued that the *Adelphi* is the earlier because the *Heautontimoroumenos* goes a stage further in characterising the old men. The *Adelphi* has also more tradition elements: the comic Sannio, the drunken Syrus, and the parallel short scenes in the last act. The *Epitrepontes* has a subtlety of characterisation which joins it to the *Adelphi* and *Heautontimoroumenos*, while, as in the *Adelphi*, the figure of Smikrines grows out of an older, satirical tradition.[3] The *Poenulus* has no subtlety and no problem, nor is there any reason to suppose that this lack is due to Plautus; an the other hand, the element of fooling is strong in the scenes between Agorastocles and Milphio, Milphio and Syncerastus, Hanno and Milphio, and in the satirical portraits of the *leno* and the soldier; the whole feeling suggests the time of the *Kolax* or before. The Aetolian setting may then be due to the part played by the Aetolians in the Lamian war and their subsequent resistance to Antipater and Cassander.

written during the democratic revolution after Antipater's death. The *Leucadia* may perhaps be connected with the success of Leukas in withstanding Cassander's attacks from 314 B.C. The 'embassy from Ambracia' in the *Stichus* (Menander's *First Adelphoi or Philadelphoi*) according to Enk [4] dates the play before 312 B.C.

[1] The reference to Pyrrhus (*Eun.* 783) is presumably elaboration by Terence. The *rex* of 357, 401, is unidentified; it is not safe to build on the references to Cyprus (297, 300K; but cf. *Misoumenos* 340K).

[2] *Motivstudien*, 87 f.

[3] For the present at any rate I am not prepared to use the supposed Epicurean and Stoic echoes (cf. e.g. Morpurgo, *Stud. Ital.*, N.3, III (1923), 5, on 726 ff.; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 82 on 605) for dating (cf. Wilamowitz, *Schiedsgericht*, 111). Zeno had been in Athens since 314 B.C. and Epicurus since 306 B.C.

[4] Enk, *Mnemosyne*, 1916, 43.

I have referred before [1] to the possibility of 'tracing a chronological sequence of decreasing fooling.' The most significant facts are the differences between the early *Perinthia* and the late *Andria* and between the early *Kolax* and the late *Eunuch*. Other plays in which this element is noticeably prominent are the *Samia*, *Perikeiromene*, *Synaristosai*, *First Adelphoi or Philadelphoi*, and the original of the *Aulularia*, all of which are dated early on other grounds. It follows, therefore, that for our purposes the division between early and late must separate these two groups of plays, must in fact fall between the *Kolax* (312 B.C. or soon after) and the *Andria* (about 304 B.C.).

One other technical criterion can be used: although nearly three-quarters of the *Epitrepontes* has survived, all the preserved lines or parts of lines are in iambic trimeters, whereas the *Perikeiromene* has one scene of 86 lines (out of 449 preserved) and the *Samia* one scene of 68 and one of 17 lines (out of 341 preserved) in trochaic tetrameters, in both plays scenes of fooling such as the later plays eschew. Fragments in trochaic tetrameters also survive from other plays which we have supposed to be early: *Orge* (367K), *Sikyonios* (442K), *Philadelphoi* (= *First Adelphoi*, *Stichus*) (508K), *Halieis* (23-26K), *Georgos* (100K), *Heniochos* (205K), *Synaristosai* (*Ox. Pap.* 1803). Other probably early plays show that Menander used other metres: *Leukadia*, anapaestic (312K), *Sikyonios*, dactylic (443K), *Georgos* (101K) telesillean. Halisca's song in the *Synaristosai* (*Cistellaria*, 671 f.) also seems to be derived from a sung original.[2] Undated plays with fragments in trochaic or other non-iambic metres, which may therefore tentatively be classed as 'early,' are as follows: *Theophoroumene:* the girl sang, Schol. to E. *Andr.*, 103. Another sign of early date is the coarse word, ἱππόπορνε (19). *Phasma:* contained ithyphallics according to Atilius Fortunatianus (Kock, iii, 144). *Misogynes:* 333K, anapaests. *Didymai:* 120K, anapaests. *Thrasyleon:* 244K, trochaics. *Thyroros:* Demianczuk, *Suppl. Comm.*, 260/5 with 923K. Trochaic. *Hiereia:* Wilamowitz suggested that *Periochai* 92-94 contains fragments of trochaic lines. *Naukleros:* 352K, trochaic. *Pallake:* 379K, trochaic. *Plokion:* 929K, trochaic. (The name Krobyle and the sentiment make this certainly a fragment of the *Plokion*). *Rhapizomene:* 433K, trochaic. Play of reconciliation. *Hydria:* 470K, trochaic. *Hypobolimaios:* 494K, trochaic.

On this evidence the following table can be constructed :—

321.	*Orge.*
321-316 (approx.).	*Androgynos*, *Methe*, *Samia*, *Pseudherakles.*
319-317.	*Olynthia*, *Perinthia.*
317-307.	*Dis Exapaton*, *Kekryphalos* (soon after 317), *First Adelphoi*, (before 312), *Halieis*, original of *Aulularia* (= *Apistos*).
Before 315.	*Synaristosai*, *Heros.*
Soon after 314.	*Perikeiromene*, *Aspis*, *Sikyonios*, *Georgos*, *Leukadia.*
313-304.	*Thesauros.*
312.	*Heniochos.*

[1] RYLANDS BULLETIN, XXIX, 383 f.

[2] I have omitted 299K (anapaests) because (*a*) Athenaeus quotes it elsewhere as by Mnesimachus; (*b*) it is not clear whether he is quoting here *Dyskolos* or *Kolax*.

312 or soon after.	*Kolax.*
Before 310.	*Misoumenos.*
Before 304.	*Didymai, Theophoroumene, Thrasyleon, Thyroros, Hiereia, Karchedonios, Misogynes, Naukleros, Pallake, Plokion, Rhapizomene, Hydria, Hypobolimaios, Phasma.*
304 or soon after.	*Andria.*
304-301.	*Eunuch.*
After 304.	*Second Adelphoi, Epitrepontes.*
302.	*Imbrians.*
298 approx.	*Heautontimoroumenos.*

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